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**Proceedings at Boston, May 12th, 1886.**

THE Society was called to order in the hall of the American Academy on Wednesday morning, the President, Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale College, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary, Professor Toy, read the minutes of the foregoing meeting, and they were approved. The general order of proceedings and the titles of papers were announced. The reports of the retiring officers were then presented.

The accounts of the Treasurer, Mr. Van Name, were referred to Rev. Mr. Winslow and Professor Elwell as a Committee of Audit. After examination of book and vouchers, they reported that they found the accounts correct. The report was approved. In brief summary, the accounts are as follows :

**RECEIPTS.**

Balance on hand, May 6th, 1885,	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,212.97
Assessments (98) paid in for year 1885-86,	-	-	-	-	-	\$490.00	
Assessments (36) for other years,	-	-	-	-	-	180.00	
Sale of the Journal,	-	-	-	-	-	56.06	
Interest on deposit in Bank,	-	-	-	-	-	38.32	
Total receipts for the year,	-	-	-	-	-	-	764.38
							\$1,977.35

**EXPENDITURES.**

Printing of Proceedings and Journal,	-	-	-	-	-	\$857.01	
Engraving,	-	-	-	-	-	22.00	
Binding,	-	-	-	-	-	99.95	
Expenses of Correspondence (postage, etc.),	-	-	-	-	-	45.25	
Total expenditures for the year,	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,024.21
Balance on hand, May 12th, 1886,	-	-	-	-	-	-	953.14
							\$1,977.35

The Bradley type-fund now amounts to \$1,034.28.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, showed that forty-two complete volumes, one hundred and forty-three parts of volumes, and sixty pamphlets, had been added to the library during the year. Most of these accessions are continuations of the regular exchanges. The number of titles of printed books and pamphlets is now four thousand three hundred and thirty-one, and of manuscripts, one hundred and sixty-two.

For the Committee of Publication, Professor Whitney reported that the eleventh volume had been completed and distributed, and

that the printing had begun on the thirteenth volume, which would be taken up in great part by the text of the *Kāuṣika-sūtra*, edited, with extracts from the commentaries and with critical apparatus, by Professor Bloomfield of Baltimore.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Lanman, announced in the name of the Directors, that the next meeting would be held at New Haven, on Wednesday, October 27, 1886, and that the President and Treasurer had been authorized to act as a Committee of Arrangements. The Committee of Publication of the preceding year had been reappointed. It consists of Messrs. Salisbury, Toy, Van Name, W. H. Ward, and W. D. Whitney. The Directors proposed and recommended to the Society for election the following persons :

As Corporate Members—

Mr. Charles J. Deghué, of Columbia College, New York ;

Dr. Gabriel Engelsman, of New York ;

Mr. Henry Preble, of Harvard College, Cambridge.

The gentlemen thus proposed were duly elected.

Mr. Charles Theodore Russell, Sr., reported for the Committee appointed in May, 1885, that the lot of valuable books given by the Imperial Government of China to the United States had been duly transferred to Washington ; also, that it did not appear to be a favorable time at present for moving in the matter of the appointment of Consuls in the East. The report was accepted, and the Committee discharged.

The President named as a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year Mr. Charles Theodore Russell, and Professors Toy and Hopkins. The Committee reported later on, proposing the reelection of the retiring board of officers, with only one change, the substitution of Professor Lyon of Cambridge, as Recording Secretary, in place of Professor Toy, who desired to be relieved of the duties of that position. The proposals of the Committee were ratified by the meeting without dissent. The board of officers is accordingly constituted as follows :

*President*, Professor W. D. Whitney, of New Haven ;—*Vice-Presidents*, Rev. A. P. Peabody, of Cambridge ; Professor E. E. Salisbury, of New Haven ; Rev. W. H. Ward, of New York ;—*Recording Secretary*, Professor D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge ;—*Corresponding Secretary*, Professor C. R. Lanman, of Cambridge ;—*Secretary of the Classical Section*, Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Cambridge ;—*Treasurer and Librarian*, Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven ;—*Directors*, Professor John Avery, of Brunswick, Maine ; Professor Joseph Henry Thayer, of Cambridge, Mass. ; Mr. Alexander I. Cotheal, Professor Charles Short, and Professor Isaac H. Hall, of New York ; and President Daniel C. Gilman and Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore.

The Corresponding Secretary read the names of those who had died during the year. They were as follows :

the Corresponding Member,

Mr. Henry Stevens, of London ;

and the Corporate Members,

Rev. George R. Entler, of Franklin, N. Y. ;

Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, of Cambridge, Mass. ;

Prof. Gustav Seyffarth, of New York ;

Rev. Lyman Stilson, of Jefferson, Iowa ;

Prof. Thomas A. Thacher, of New Haven, Conn.

Mr. Stevens, born August 24, 1819, in Vermont—whence his favorite title, “Green Mountain Boy”—went in 1845 to London. Here he found a place admirably suited to his abilities and attainments, as a bibliographer and agent in the British Museum. He furnished the Museum with one hundred thousand books or pamphlets on American subjects, and may justly be called the most eminent literary and historical intermediary between the Old World and the New. Mr. Hoppin was, with one exception, the oldest Episcopalian clergyman in Massachusetts, and had been rector of Christ Church in Cambridge for thirty-five years. He wrote many articles, especially on ecclesiastical history ; and these are to be found in the *Church Monthly* and in the *Church Review*. Dr. Seyffarth was born in 1796 in Prussia. He studied in Leipsic, and then in Paris under Champollion, and distinguished himself in the field of Egyptian antiquities. In 1825 he was made professor extraordinarius at Leipsic. He made extensive travels, and collected a great amount of material for investigation in his chosen studies. In 1857 he came to New York, and, after a period of service as professor at Concordia College, St. Louis, he returned to the metropolis, where he dwelt until his death in November last. The Rev. Lyman Stilson was born in New York State in 1805 and went out to Burmah as a missionary of the American Baptist Missionary Union in 1837. He worked chiefly at Arrakan and Maulmain and prepared books on arithmetic, geography, and other useful subjects, and overcame great difficulties in their manufacture and publication. He returned to this country in 1851. During his residence in Arrakan, he learned the Kemi language ; and he contributed a brief notice of it to the *Journal* of this Society, where it may be found, volume viii., p. 213, 1862, along with an interesting extract from a letter which accompanied the article. Professor Thacher graduated at Yale College in 1835, and was for nearly fifty years an instructor in the College, and a kind and faithful friend to those who needed counsel and help. Although he made no contributions to the *Journal*, he was a member whose constant and sympathetic interest in the aims and achievements of our Society was greatly valued.

Reports were given of letters from Mr. Rockhill in Peking. He has sent some interesting rubbings of inscriptions from Pan Shan, east of Peking. The inscriptions are incised on a pillar of stone, and date from the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 A. D.). A

considerable part of the characters are nāgarī Sanskrit, and promise to be of interest palæographically. Mr. Rockhill mentions a recent find near Peking of about sixteen Roman coins dating from Nero down. Dr. Bushell will give a report upon them in the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*.

Professor Isaac H. Hall read extracts from a letter received by him from Professor Th. Nöldeke of Strassburg, in reference to a projected English translation of the latter's Syriac Grammar, from which he had been obliged to withdraw his sanction, not being satisfied with the way in which the work was done.

Professor Hall also presented a note concerning the proposed Syriac-Arabic Lexicon in preparation by the Jesuit establishment at Beirût. He had understood that this was the lexicon of "Kerem Sedd," of which only two manuscript copies are known; and he had hoped therefore to obtain the sheets as they came through the press. He learns however from Dr. Van Dyck that it is not that lexicon at all, but a new affair by a Maronite priest, and of no great value. "The Syriac patriarch, Yusuf Daūd, declares it is full of mistakes, to say nothing of typographical errors."

The following resolution was offered by Rev. W. C. Winslow, and passed :

*Resolved*, That the American Oriental Society, recognizing the important explorations of the Egypt Exploration Fund and the valuable results already obtained thereby, cordially commends its cause as worthy of liberal support from the public.

After finishing the miscellaneous business, the Society proceeded to the hearing of communications, which were continued until evening, with a recess between 1 and 2 P. M.

1. On Hebrew military history in the light of modern military science; by General Henry B. Carrington, of the United States Army.

General Carrington, in illustration of the fact that military methods have remained substantially the same through a long period, referred to some of the details of Hebrew warfare which are mentioned in the Old Testament. Such procedures as night-attack, division of attacking force into several parts, feigned retreat, setting an ambush, bringing up reserves, are by no means the invention of modern times; and we can even trace among the early Hebrews the beginning of organization by corps, divisions, regiments, etc.

2. On a Greek Hagiologic Manuscript in the Philadelphia Library; by Prof. I. H. Hall, of New York City.

This manuscript is one of three that were presented to the Library Company of Philadelphia, more than a century ago, by Henry Coxe, Esquire. It is kept in the Ridgway Branch of the Library, and numbered 1141. It is bound in half-leather, and lettered on the back "MSS. Greek Commentary." It consists at present of 130 paper leaves,  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches

in dimension, leaf 39 being torn away except a little piece of the inner upper corner. It contained three more leaves originally, two at the beginning and the other at the end. Wax droppings indicate that it was probably read in service on saints' days. A bit of later script on the top of the first page shows it to have been formerly the property of some monastery, whose name I cannot make out. In binding the manuscript (the binding is not very recent), a number of the leaves had to be mounted on a slip. On this slip some scribe supplied some of the ornamental initials that had been torn or worn away; but the numbers of sections or titles thus removed have not been replaced. The outer edges of the leaves have also been so much worn away as to remove many of the section-numbers; but the edges appear never to have been cut. The writing occupies regularly 30 lines, in a space about 8×6 inches in dimension, on each page. It is a pretty plain and easy cursive, apparently of the 14th or 15th century. Ornamental initials frequently occur, in red; with also a few other ornaments. The writing is full of iotacisms, perpetually exchanging *ι* and *η*, though not in a way to give trouble. Sometimes *υ*, as well as sundry of the diphthongs, is replaced by *ι*. Not infrequently *ο* and *ω*, *β* and *υ*, and *μ* and *β*, replace each other (the last of these cases is real, and not due to confusion of similar characters). Iota subscript does not occur, except in a few places where it has been supplied by a much later hand. The breathings and accents are not always correctly applied.

The lettering on the back is not descriptive of the manuscript. Its contents are as follows:

Fol. 1a to 3a.] Part of the last sentence of the Proëmium to the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis in Cappadocia (A. D. 420), beginning with the word *ἐξαπασθέντων*; Table of Contents of the *Historia*.

Fol. 3a to 66b.] The two introductory letters; the *Historia Lausiaca* proper, insensibly passing into matter identical with the *Paradisus Patrum*; the whole ending with the words, in red, *ἕως ὧδε ἡ κατ' Αἰγυπτὸν μοναχῶν ἱστορία* (these are elsewhere an alternative title of the "Paradise").

Fol. 66b to 72a.] "Life of the Abbot Paul of the Thebaid;" [fol. 70a] "Concerning Taxeotes;" [fol. 71b] "Concerning Philentolus [son] of Olympias."

Fol. 72b to 94a.] "Narratives and Admonitions of the Holy Fathers *περὶ κατανύξεως*," answering generally to the *Apophthegmata* or *Gerontika*, which occur in many manuscripts.

Fol. 94a to 106b.] "Concerning the Abbot Macarius Politicus," with more *apophthegmata*.

Fol. 106b to 109a.] "Writing (*σύγγραμμα*) of Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, who is among our Holy Fathers, of instruction to all who live a monastic life, and to every devout Christian."

Fol. 109a to 113b.] "The names of the holy Prophets, whence they were, and where they lie buried."

Fol. 113b to 115b.] "Ecclesiastical *σύγγραμμα* concerning the 70 disciples of the Lord, of Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, an ancient spirit-bearing (*πνευματοφόρον*) man, who became a martyr in the time of the emperors Lycinius and Constantine."

Fol. 115b to 119a.] An account of various persecutions and martyrs, and of the twelve Apostles; which "the thrice blessed and all-happy Dorotheos left for remembrance, in the Roman dialect," and the writer interpreted into Greek.

Fol. 119a to end.] "Life and conduct of the holy Mary of Egypt, who lived holily an ascetic life in the desert; written by Sophronius, who is among the holy [Fathers], archbishop of Jerusalem. Read in the 5th of the great calendar (τοῦ μεγάλου κανόνος). Lord, bless!" The manuscript breaks off at ξυλά[ριον], just so far before the end of the treatise as to show that one leaf more would have finished it.

The manuscript thus appears to be one of those hagiologic compilations which are not infrequent, but of which scarcely any two have the same contents. As to character, so far as I have been able to compare its contents with the printed texts, it appears to be as good as any other manuscript. In certain portions it has manifestly better readings than the printed texts, as well as many worse. Several portions appear to be quite different from anything ever published, and some quite unknown. From all that I can learn, or have seen in print, I feel pretty sure that the manuscript has never been used by any editor of a printed hagiologic work or patristic collection. It is not likely that its contents will have an opportunity very soon to get into print; and I have no time to make a careful collation. But it seems worth while to put on record the general results of an examination, so that it may contribute its mite in the fulness of time. Meanwhile, it may help those who wish for all the available light on sundry curious texts; and it will be of especial service to those who may wish, for the sake of practice with Greek manuscripts (which are none too abundant in this country), to study or collate it. It would be hopeless for a beginner to attempt to identify the passages for himself. It goes without saying that the manuscript has abundant variations from the printed texts.

I. The *Historia Lausiaca* [fol. 1-66]. The matter of this treatise varies not only in the manuscripts, but in the printed editions; so that it is impossible now to say just how many of the sections or chapters assigned to it really belong there. Reference may be had to Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, vol. 34, where, in the *Hist. Laus.*, the *Acta Macaria*, the *Paradisus*, etc., will be found much of the matter of this manuscript, with references to other manuscripts and editions of parts. More will be found in vol. 65 of Migne, under *Appendix ad Palladium*, etc. Some will also be found in vol. 87, part 3, in the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus; not to mention other scraps and repetitions in other places. I give below a detailed list of places where the passages of this manuscript correspond with those in Migne's edition.

The table of contents, however (fol. 1-3a), deserves special mention. It does not tally exactly with the contents of the text of the *Historia*, and could not have been compiled from the contents of the manuscript, but must have been copied from some other table of contents, which represented a copy of the *Historia* of average extent. Since the table thus has an independent value, I give it in translation, adding the numbers of the titles where they are present. Many of the numbers

are cut away, as already explained; but there are some slips in the numbering. It is as follows:

'1. And I encountered, in the first entrances of the journey, by the grace of spiritual succor, the great and inspired teacher Isidorus the presbyter, [and] the host of the great church of Alexandria, the admirable man Dorotheus the Thebaïd ascetic. 2. I heard concerning Potamiaine, a most beautiful girl. 3. I met Didymus the author, who is blind in his eyes. I heard concerning Alexandria the faithful damsel. 5. Concerning the virgin that loved riches, [I heard] by name only. Macarius the superintendent of the poor-house. I met two thousand men adorned with every virtue. In the Mount of Nitria I met other holy ones. Six hundred other anchorites in the utter desert. Arsisius the great, and Putubastus, and Hagion the aged, and Serapion a most celebrated anchorite. A *cænobium* in the Mount of Nitria; church with three palms. The *Xenodocheion* into which we are received. Benefit of accomplishing the evening prayers. Eight presbyters leading the van, and the throng of the church; and of the entertainer, and of the sojourners. The great Arsisius, and many others of the holy Fathers. 14. He narrated concerning the great Pachomius. Concerning the holy Amun and his partner. The blessed Amun and his disciples. Concerning the river Lycus. The author himself [says that] he crossed this river with timidity. The matters concerning Or, the admirable man who is an anchorite. The matters concerning the holy Pambo, the great teacher and bishop. Of Dioscorus and Ammonius, and of the brethren Eusebius and Euthymius. The matters concerning Melania, the admirable Roman woman. Melanion relates how the blessed Pambo met his end. To Origenes and Ammonius, the holy ones, the blessed Pambo says certain things when he is about to die. Origenes the presbyter and Ammonius narrated wonderful things concerning the blessed Pambo. How the blessed Pior takes the cell of the holy Pambo. How again the great Pambo comes to the cell of Pior. The matters concerning the holy Ammonius; and of the three brethren. Timotheus the holy bishop. 28. How the blessed Ammonius exercised his body. 29. The blessed Evagrius votes for the servant of God Ammonius. 30. How Ammonius received Rufinus the eparch. 31. The matters concerning the admirable monk Benjamin. 32. How the bishop Dioscorus received the blessed Evagrius. 33. The matters concerning Apolonius, who finished his business. 34. The matters concerning the five thousand monks in the mount. 35. The matters concerning the holy ones, the brethren Paisius and Esaias. 36. How these observers disposed of vanities. 37. The matters concerning Macarius the younger. 38. The matters concerning the most estimable Nathanael. 39. The matters concerning the great athlete of Christ, Macarius the Egyptian. 40. The matters concerning the blessed Macarius the Alexandrian. 41. The matters concerning the great Pachomius, the spirit-bearing man; and again concerning the death of Macarius. 42. The matters concerning the most gentle Mark; and of Paphnutius his disciple. 43. The matters concerning the most noble Moses, the one [who became monk] from the robbers. 44. How the four robbers became monks. 45. How this one came to Macarius; [how] to Isidorus of Scetis. 46. The five hundred anchorites in the Mount of Pherme. 47. The matters concerning the noble Paul, who made six hundred prayers. 48. This one meets with the holy Macarius Politicus. 49. Concerning the virgin who made seven hundred prayers. 50. Of Cronius narrating his own adventures. 51. The matters concerning the great Antonius. 52. The matters concerning Eulogius. 53. He who was injured in body. 54. Eulogius the long-suffering. 55. Antonius questions Theodorus. 56. The holy Antonius prays that the place of the righteous may be revealed to him. 57. Where blessed Hierax and Cronius and many others relate the matters concerning Paul. 58. The matters concerning the blessed Paul the Simple. 59. Where the author himself is tempted by the demon of fornication. 60. Where the



author meets the great Pachomius. The matters concerning the noble athlete Stephen. The matters respecting Valens, who fell away through vanity. The matters respecting Heron, who exalted himself in haughtiness. Concerning Ptolemæus, who, after many labors and noble sweatings, fell away of his own accord. 65. Concerning the virgin that fell away. Concerning the blessed Elias the virgin-lover. 67. Concerning Dorotheus. Concerning the blessed virgin Piammun. 68. The matters concerning Pachomius. Monasteries of about two hundred [in text, 300], and of three hundred men. At the city Spanos, monasteries of three hundred souls. Monastery of four hundred women. 73. Concerning the holy virgin. How revelation was made to the holy Pityrum concerning herself. Concerning the blessed John among the propiets, where this blessed one challenges Theodorus the interpreter. This same one foretells the future to Poimen. Dionisius [*sic*] the bishop was dipped into the river. The matters respecting Poseidonius. 80. The matters concerning Hieronymus. How the blessed Poseidonius foretells the death of the blessed Paulus. How Hieronymus makes Oxyperentius a fugitive by his own enchantment. Respecting the most holy Peter and Symeon. 85. The matters concerning Serapion. How the blessed Serapion met Domnenus who was in Rome. Concerning the virgin who lived in retirement in the desert. 88. The matters concerning Evagrius. How he was led from the palace of Isangelus. How the holy Gregorius made him deacon. How Gregorius abandons Evagrius for Nectarius. Melanion questions the blessed Evagrius. 93. The matters concerning the holy Pior. The matters concerning Moses Lybinnus. 95. The matters concerning Ephraim. The matters concerning Paula of Rome. 97. The matters concerning Eustochia the daughter of Paula. The matters concerning Veneria. 99. Concerning Theodora. 100. The matters concerning Hosia [*al.*, Usia]. 101. Concerning Adolia. 103. Concerning Basianila. 104. Concerning Asela [Asella] in Rome. Concerning Abetas [Avita]. 106. Concerning Julianus. 107. Concerning the virgin Photine. 108. Concerning Adolius of Tarsus. 109. The matters concerning Idnocentius [Innocentius]. 110. The matters concerning Philoromus. 111. The matters concerning Melane Spane. 112. Concerning the holy ones that were exalted, Isidorus and Posimus (or, Posinus) and Adelphius and Paphnutius and Pambo and Ammonius, and certain others. 113. How the reckoning came to be concerning Rufinus. 114. Concerning Cronius the priest, chief of two hundred monks. 115. Concerning James. 116. Concerning Paphnutius. 117. How Evagrius and Albinus servant of Christ met with him. 118. How the blessed Chereemon met his end. 119. Another monk, having dug a pit, was buried in it. 120. How another died of thirst. Concerning Stephen who fell away. 121. He cites Job for testimony. 122. Concerning Elpidius of Cappadocia. 123. Concerning Ainesius. 124. And Eustathius of the brethren. Concerning the immortal Sisinus [*al.*, Sisinnus]. 125. Concerning Gadanà [*al.*, Gaddana]. 116. Concerning Elias the [son] of Philoxenus. 127. Concerning Sabbaticus [son] of Nicus. 128. Abramius the Egyptian. 129. Concerning Melanion again. 130. Concerning Profanus. 132. Concerning Silvius. 133. Concerning Jubinus [Jovinus], deacon and bishop. 134. Memorabilia of Origenes, Gregorius, Stephanus, and concerning Pierius and Basilus. 135. The matters concerning Olympiades. 136. The matters concerning Candida. 137. Concerning the virgin Gelasia. 138. Concerning the monastery in the desert of Antinous, of a thousand two hundred men. 139. Concerning those in caves. 140. Concerning Solomon. 141. The matters concerning Dorotheus. 142. The matters concerning Diocles, and the matters concerning Cappito from the robbers. 143. Concerning him who was led astray. 144. Concerning the holy Amma Talis. 145. Concerning the holy Taor. 146. Concerning the virgin. 147. Concerning Melanion the child (or, [the son] of Paidias). 148. Concerning Pini-anus. 149. Concerning Paulus Dalmatisius. 150. Albina and Melania. 151. Concerning Pammachias. 152. Concerning Macarius and Constan-

tinus. 153. Concerning her who received the bishop Athanasius. 154. Concerning bishop Athanasius. 155. Concerning bishop Origines. 155 [*sic*]. Concerning the virgin of Corinth. 156. In behalf of the most prudent Pri (?); he fought with wild beasts. 157. Concerning Verinus and Bosphoria in Ancyra. 158. Concerning the virgins of Christ in Ancyra. 159. Concerning Magna and the rest. 160. Concerning the humble-spirited partner of the bishop. Concerning her who fell away and repented. Concerning the daughter of the presbyter, who fell away. Concerning the reader in Cesarea. How from another person the same author has his own adventures narrated. The author thanks God. 166. How he narrates also the blessed life of the Bragmani, and makes mention concerning the bishop Moses. Of the Adulini. 167. And this same author attempted to enter into the island. 168. And hears concerning a certain scholastic. Concerning Alexander. 170. The matters concerning Dandanis and concerning Calarus and Onesicrates.'

It will be noticed that such numbers as are present in the above table of contents show mistakes in the sequence. Thus between 5 and 14 are nine items; so that 14 is really 16. Number 102 is omitted, 155 is repeated, and so on. However, taking the items as they are, the titles of the table of contents are descriptive of the matter of the several sections of the text, as far as the former's title No. 76. But the numbers of the table do not correspond exactly with those of the sections in the text. No. 1 of the table includes 1 and 2 of the text; Nos. 76 and 77 of the contents belong to 79 of the text. There are, likewise, a few slips in the numbering of the sections of the text. In both text and table the divisions are smaller than the usually printed chapters.

The matter of the text corresponds pretty well with that in Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, vol. 34, *Historia Lausiaca*, as far as Migne's cap. lxxvi. ; that matter will be more fully treated further on. But the table of contents, after its title No. 76, goes on with titles which appear pretty clearly to correspond with chapters of the *Historia* in Migne, as follows (bracketing the numbers not actually written with the titles in the table) :

MS.		Migne.	MS.		Migne.
No. [79]	=	No. 77	No. 110	=	No. 113
80	"	78	111, 112	"	117
[81]	"	79	113	"	118
[82]	"	80	114	"	89
[83, 84]	"	81	115	"	90
85	"	82	116, 117	"	91
87	"	85	118	"	92
88-[92]	"	86	119	"	93
93	"	87	120	"	94
94	"	88	[120, 2d], 121	"	95
95	"	101	122	"	106
[96]	"	125	123	"	107
97	"	126	124	"	108, 109
[98]	"	127	125	"	110
99	"	128	126	"	111
100	"	129	127	"	112
101	"	130	128	"	105
103	"	131	129	"	119
104, 107	"	132	132	"	142
[105]	"	133	133, 134	"	143
106	"	102	135	"	144
108	"	104	136	"	145
109	"	103	137	"	146

MS.		Migne.	MS.		Migne.
No. 138-140	=	No. 96	No. 152	=	No. 123
141	"	97	153, 154	"	136
142	"	98, 99	155	"	148
143	"	100	158, 159	"	135
144	"	137	[161]	"	140
145	"	138	[162]	"	141
146	"	139	[163]	"	142
148	"	121	[165]	"	150 (part)
150	"	120	[166] (latter part)	"	130 (?)
151	"	122			

It thus more clearly appears, as above stated, that the table of contents was copied from some other MS., which pretty well represented the ordinary, reputed contents of the *Historia Lausiaca*. As respects the titles in the table which do not correspond to any chapters in the edition in Migne, some of them correspond to other matters in the life of Macarius, or in other kindred works or fragments in Migne. Others again demonstrably, and yet others probably, are titles to subdivisions of chapters in Migne's edition of the *Historia Lausiaca*. The titles in the table that are thus to be accounted for are Nos. 130, 147, 149, one of the two numbered 155 (which, on examination, seems to be inserted erroneously, and to be a repetition of another title), 156, 157, 158, 160, 164, the first portion of 166, 167, 168, 169, 170. It is hardly worth while to take up space with their further consideration.

After the table of contents come the two letters to Lausus, of which the first is given without title, and the second with the title which in Migne is given to the first: viz. "Copy of the letter written to Lausus Præpositus from Bishop Palladius." The history proper begins at fol. 6a. The following is a tabular statement of the coincidences of the numbered sections of the MS. with the chapters of the *Historia* in Migne, not noticing slight differences, such as when a chapter in the MS. begins or ends a sentence or so earlier or later than that in Migne, and keeping the actual written numbers of the sections in the manuscript, disregarding the slips:

MS. Sections.		Migne's Chapters.	MS. Sections.		Migne's Chapters.
1	=	1	46 [sic]	=	Migne, vol. 34, col. 197,
2	"	2	3d paragraph, to end in col. 200		
3	"	3	( <i>Acta Macar. Ægypt. et Alex-</i>		
4	"	4	<i>andr.</i> )		
5	"	5	47-50	=	22
6, 7	"	6	51, 52	"	23
8-18	"	7	53	"	24
19-21	"	8	54, 55	"	25
22	"	9	56-59	"	26
23-27	"	10	60	"	27
28	"	11	61, 62	"	28
29-34	"	12	63, 64	"	29
35, 36	"	13	65	"	30
37, 38	"	14	66	"	31
39, 40 = 15, 16 (some transposition).			67	"	32
41	=	17	68	"	33
42	"	18	69	"	34
43-45 = 19, 20 (in part. Some dis-			70	"	35
order in MS. or in Migne).			71	"	36
46	=	21	72	"	37

MS. Sections.		Migne's Chapters.	MS. Sections.		Migne's Chapters.
73	=	38, 39 (part).	78	=	42
74, 75	"	39 (part).	79	=	43-46 (with differences and transpositions).
76	"	39 (last par.), 40			
77	"	41			

Here the sections in the manuscript cease to be numbered, except just at the end of the *Historia*; and I give the folio number of the manuscript where the section begins, with the title to the latter. The numbers in Migne are still those of chapters in the *Historia Lausiaca*, except when otherwise stated:

	MS. Sections.		Chapters in Migne.
Fol. 43b.]	Of the abbot Ammonius,	=	48
43b.]	Of the abbot Bes,	"	49
44a.]	Of the city Oxyrhinchus,	"	vol. 65, col. 445, 448 ( <i>Appendix ad Palladium</i> ).
44b.]	Of the abbot Theon,	"	50
45a.]	Of the abbot Elias,	"	51
45a.]	Of the abbot Apollos,	"	52
50b.]	Of the abbot Amun,	"	53
51b.]	Of the abbot Kopres, presbyter,	"	54 (1st part).
52a.]	Of the abbot Evagrius,	"	vol. 65, col. 448 ( <i>Appendix ad Palladium</i> ).
52a.]	Of the abbot Paternuthius,	"	vol. 65, col. 448, sq. ( <i>Appendix ad Palladium</i> ).
54a.]	Of the abbot Kopres, presbyter,	"	54 (latter part).
55a.]	Of the abbot Suros, and the abbot Esaias, and abbot Paul [and abbot Anub] (but text omits Esaias, which is Migne 56),	"	55, 57, 58
55b.]	Of the abbot Hellen,	"	59
56b.]	Of the abbot Apelles,	"	60
57a.]	Of the abbot John,	"	61
57b.]	Of the abbot Paphnutius,	"	62-65
59b.]	Of the abbot Pytyrion,	"	74
60a.]	Of the abbot Eulogius, presbyter,	"	75
60a.]	Of the abbot Isidorus,	"	71
60b.]	Of the abbot Serapion, presbyter,	"	76
60b.]	Of the abbot Apollonius, martyr,	"	66, 67
61b.]	Of the abbot Dioscorus, presbyter,	"	68
61b.]	Of the [monks] in Nitria,	"	69
62a.]	Of the abbot Ammonius,	"	70
62b.]	Of the abbot Didymus,	"	vol. 65, col. 456 ( <i>Appendix ad Palladium</i> ).
62b.]	Of the abbot Macarius, disciple of Antonius. (Contains several paragraphs from 19, 20, in Migne's <i>Hist. Laus.</i> , the first of which is an introduction of 4½ lines, and the rest relate the wonders, signs, etc., wrought by Macarius. Some are identical with passages in Migne, some substantially the same in matter, but not quite the same in language. The paragraphs are as follows: 62b.] Migne, 19, 20, col. 1050, 2d and 3d paragraphs; 63a.] Story of Macarius's visit to the paradise made by Jannes and Jambres, different from the accounts in Migne, and apparently unpublished; 63b, line 8.] Migne, 19, 20, col. 1050, last paragraph; 63b, line 19.] not identified; 63b, line 20.] Story of the hyena, somewhat different from Migne, 19, 20, col. 1060, 1044. These, with the following three sections, are probably to be found in the Paris MSS. mentioned in Migne, vol. 65,		

- col. 439-442, in the *Monitum* taken from Coteler, *Eccles. Græc. Mon.*, iii. 171, a work which I have not been able to consult, but which must contain many other matters in this manuscript. A portion of the following is to be found in the "Paradise" above mentioned.)
- Fol. 64a.] Of the abbot Amun. (Migne, *Hist. Laus.*, col. 1050, C. More like the old Latin translation of Gentianus Hervetus.)
- 64b.] Of the abbot Macarius Politicus. (Slightly altered from Migne, 19, 20.)
- 64b.] Of the abbot Paul the Simple, disciple of the holy Antonius. (Abridged from Migne, 28.)
- 65b.] Of Ammon, presbyter, = Migne, 72.
- 65b.] Of the abbot John [Diolci], " Migne, 73.
- 65b.] (End of Palladius's journey), " Migne, 150, col. 1252, 2d paragraph.
- 66a.] (End of journey. The five paragraphs are numbered to correspond with the days numbered in the text.), = Migne, 150, col. 1257, except that the manuscript adds the doxology at the end.

Here ends the "History of the Monks of Egypt," as its colophon calls it, using the alternative name of the "Paradise;" but it is evident that the scribe intended his work to pass for a recension of the *Historia Lausiaca*.

II. The next division of the manuscript contains matter which is probably to be found in Coteler's *Eccl. Gr. Mon.* Its chapters are as follows:

- Fol. 66b.] Life of the abbot Paul of the Thebaid.
- 70a.] Concerning Taxeotes.
- 71b.] Concerning Philentolus the [son] of Olympias.

III. The next division begins at fol. 72b, and is entitled *Διηγήματα καὶ νοηθεσίας ὁσίων πατέρων περὶ κατανύξεως*, and is one of the many collections of *apophthegmata* called sometimes by this latter name, but sometimes also *Γερόντων*, *Γεροντικόν*, *Βιβλίον γεροντικόν*, or *Βιβλος γεροντική*. Many of the paragraphs begin with the phrase *εἶπεν γέρον*. I have not tried to hunt them all up in print, but many of them came in my way as I was searching for other matters. There are more than a hundred of them; extending to fol. 94a. Then follows another division of the manuscript, beginning with a narrative "Concerning the abbot Macarius Politicus, which is followed by another collection of *apophthegmata*, extending to fol. 106b, and nearly forty in number. I give a list of those I have identified, designating them merely by the page in the manuscript, and grouping together those on the same page:

- Fol. 81b.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 77, No. 7; col. 117, No. 30; col. 148, Nos. 8, 12.
- 82a.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 156, No. 4; col. 165, No. 7.
- 82b.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 165, Nos. 9, 11; col. 171, No. 5; col. 177, No. 8; col. 184, 185, No. 7; col. 189, No. 2.
- 83a.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 192, No. 21; col. 197; col. 201, No. 2; col. 204, No. 6; col. 229, No. 8; col. 232, No. 10.
- 83b.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 232, No. 11; col. 281, No. 41; col. 284, No. 6; col. 289, Nos. 1, 2; col. 293, No. 11; col. 300, No. 1.
- 84a.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 325, Nos. 12, 13; col. 329, No. 27; col. 333, No. 49; col. 336, No. 57; col. 345, No. 99; col. 353, No. 119; col. 361, No. 168; col. 368, No. 1; col. 372, No. 18.

- Fol. 84b.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 376, No. 2; col. 380, No. 5; col. 396, No. 13.  
 85a.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 405, No. 43; col. 412, No. 11; col. 428, No. 7.  
 90a.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 440, No. 9; col. 313 (Xanthias).  
 95b.] Migne, vol. 34, col. 209, No. 3, to 216, end.  
 101b.] Migne, vol. 65, col. 400, 401, but not identical.  
 104a.] Migne, vol. 34, col. 208, 209.

IV. The next division of the manuscript begins at fol. 106b, and is entitled *Τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατράσι ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίον πατριάρχον Ἀλεξανδρείας σύγγραμμα διδασκαλίας εἰς πάντας τοὺς μοναζόντας καὶ εἰς πάντα εὐσεβεῖς Χρηστιανόν*. It is the same with that given in Migne, vol. 28, col. 834-846, and there called by nearly the same title as here, except that in Migne it is shorter, and the word *σύνταγμα* replaces the word *σύγγραμμα*. It is there placed among the *Dubia et Spuria* Athanasian writings, and copied from the edition of Andreas Arnoldus (1685), who edited it from a Vossian MS. some five or six centuries old, which contained the *Historia Lausiaca* and other ancient compositions.

V. At fol. 109a begins the division entitled *Τὰ τῶν προφητῶν ὀνόματα, καὶ πόθεν ἦσαν, καὶ ποῦ κείνται*. This is of a character intermediate between the two recensions printed in Migne, vol. 43, col. 415-418, and col. 393 ff., the latter of which was edited by Petavius from two Coislin MSS. of the tenth century, and the other by Tischendorf, in 1855, in his *Anecdota Sacra et Profana*. It belongs among the writings attributed to Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus.

VI. On fol. 113b begins the *σύγγραμμα ἐκκλησιαστικόν* attributed by the manuscript originally to Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, but otherwise to Procopius, bishop of Tyre, treating of the Seventy Disciples. It is the same with that in Migne, vol. 92, col. 1060-1065; but in several respects is much better. Two or three names are put in different places in the different copies. Doubtless the compiler, whom the manuscript does not name, is supposed to be Procopius, to whom the compilation is elsewhere attributed.

VII. On fol. 115b begins a treatise on certain persecutions and martyrs, especially of the Seventy, followed by one on the Twelve Apostles; attributed by the manuscript to Dorotheus who was in Rome, and afterwards bishop of Constantinople, but, like the last above, translated and edited by another author. It is the same with that in Migne, vol. 92, col. 1065-1073. This, as well as VI., above, are among the *addenda* to the *Chronicon Paschale* in Migne. For the apparent confusion about Dorotheus, and the supposition that these were translated from his Latin, Hebrew, and Greek literary remains, reference may be best had to the text in Migne. The two are evidently portions of the same remains. After mentioning the source of them, the manuscript goes on to say that among the other remains is the story of the death of Herodias's daughter, and the impalement of her head, in the lake Gennesaret, with other legends.

VIII. Fol. 119b, to end.] This, the last division of the manuscript, consists of the "Life and Conduct of the Holy Mary of Egypt, who lived a holy and ascetic life in the desert. Written by Sophronius, of the

holy [Fathers], archbishop of Jerusalem." This is the same with that in Migne, vol. 87, col. 3697 ff., but with many variant readings. It ends with *ἐνθάδε* [πύρι] (see Migne, vol. 87, col. 3724); lacking matter at the end nearly sufficient to fill another leaf, as stated above.

In case any of the matters which occur in this manuscript should be reëdited, it would not be prudent to neglect this copy. The "Lives of the Prophets" seems to be undoubtedly an otherwise unknown recension. And the same is true of sundry other sections.

3. On the identification of Avaris at Sān; by Rev. W. C. Winslow, of Boston.

Mr. Petrie, in his *Tanis*, Part I., plate xiii., no. 4, gives a photograph of a broken colossus of Amenemhat II., the third king of the twelfth dynasty, who may be placed between 2500 and 2300 B. C., or from six to eight centuries before the expulsion of the Hyksos, under Aahmes, head of the eighteenth dynasty. The picture shows a black granite piece of the king's throne and two incomplete figures. The figures represent Hapi or Apis, that is the river-god Nilus, who, according to Wilkinson, iii. 207, is often found binding the monarch's throne with the stalks of two water-plants, the one indicating the dominion of the Upper Country, and the other that of the Lower. In our photograph, the two figures face each other, and press with their feet and bind a large bunch of water-plants.

Brugsch gives the hieroglyphic form to be found as designating the place Avaris; and this form is the very one delineated on the monument unearthed by Petrie at Sān. The sign of the town is that of Uar or Huar, 'the bended leg.' The inscription may be rendered 'Lord of the place Hu-ar, beloved of . . .' The gap may be filled by Amon or Ptah, the natural and proper sequence. The inscription on the colossus accordingly makes it clear that Amenemhat II. was 'Lord of the city of Avaris, beloved of Amon,' and appears to identify Sān, the place of its finding, with Avaris.

4. Rev. T. P. Hughes, for many years resident in the extreme northwest of India as a missionary to the Afghans, responding to the President's invitation, made some remarks on the religion of Islām. He spoke of its extreme persistency and of the difficulty of making a deep impression from without on the Mohammedan mind; of the stringency of the theology and of the purity of the doctrines as held in Afghanistan, by reason of the isolation of the district; and of the realness of their religious life, which was based on a thoughtful rational conception of the world, and was not, as is often supposed, the outcome of a mass of foolish superstition.

He also adverted to his recently published Dictionary of Islām. None such had existed before. For various articles where he had not been willing to trust himself he had called in the help of specialists. He hoped that the work would lead to a better acquaintance with the Mohammedan religion, and to more intelligent and sympathetic methods of dealing with Mohammedans.

5. On the Warrior Caste in India ; by Prof. E. W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn.

This paper was given in abstract. Its object was to show the position of the warrior caste in the state, and particularly in relation to the other castes. The *Mahābhārata*, the writer pointed out, is in all respects a better guide for those investigating this subject than the law-books or any later literature. Both the story itself and the formal statements in regard to the Kṣatriyas contained in it make the epic the best field for such research. The relation with the priestly caste (for which caste the writer reserved another paper) was first shown at some length, incidents and quotations being given to prove the freer and less priest-ridden condition of the warrior at the time of the original epic. The law of succession to the throne was then explained, with the contradiction between theory and practice which is found in the epic. The subject of the *nīti* was next taken up, already well developed in the *Mahābhārata*, where again conflicting rules, of morality and of polity, were placed side by side. The king's duty toward his subjects passively and actively was explained at length.

The outer circumstances of royal life formed the second part of the paper. The earlier and the later, more grandiose, descriptions of the king's capital and palace, his wealth, slaves, etc., were contrasted. The argument of Fergusson in regard to the walls of ancient cities in India was reviewed, and the opinion expressed that no knower of Hindu literature could adopt the extreme view held by that antiquarian. Walled towns are familiar to all Hindu writers, and there would be as much reason for supposing that Troy had a picket barricade in lieu of walls as for assuming the primitive defense of Hindu towns upheld by Fergusson for the period anterior to Alexander. The royal ceremonies of marriage and consecration were explained and compared with earlier usage.

The third part of the paper was taken up with the life of the common warrior. The fact that other castes beside Kṣatriyas engaged in battle was dwelt upon. A Kṣatriya is always a warrior, but the word warrior is too comprehensive for Kṣatriya. This point was illustrated by numerous quotations. What we may assume antecedently as probable is proved by the epic to have been the custom till late in Hindu history. The battle-field held warrior, Pariah, merchant, priest, and even women. Some facts are here expressly stated, others we can know only by implication. The greater portion of this division of the essay was taken up with military descriptions from the epic. First, the partition and arrangement of the army, with the uncertain value of the technical terms given by the text ; secondly, the laws of fighting as ideal rules and as realized by the history of the Great War ; lastly, the arms, weapons, chariots employed by the combatants, with incidental notes on the prognostications of victory and defeat, the use of magical arms, and other minor points. The writer offered the paper as one of a series on the *Mahābhārata*. Due acknowledgment was made of the work already done in the same field by Wilson, Weber, Rājendralāla Mitra, and other writers.



6. The Correlation of *v* and *m* in Vedic and later Sanskrit ; by Prof. M. Bloomfield, of Baltimore, Md.

This paper is meant to supplement Ascoli's discussion of Prakritic change of *m* to *v*, by further pointing out distinct traces of the interchange of these sounds in the classic and Vedic dialects, and showing that the change of *v* to *m* also occasionally takes place.

Ascoli's materials for the pre-Prakritic change are very meagre. In the German version of his *Studj Critici* (Weimar, 1878), ii. 222-4, he mentions *dhamana* and *dhanvana* (= *kṛmuka*), *kamandha* v. l. for *kavandha* or *kabandha*, *dramila* and *draviḍa*, root *hmal* and *hval*, *navata* 'woolen blanket' and *namata* 'felt.' Of the change of *v* to *m* he presents very few cases, from various Pāli and Prākṛit sources. He thinks (ib. p. 221) that the normal development of *m* to *v* led to an erroneous reversal of the process. As examples of this, he presents *uvariva* and *-ma* (=Skt. *uparima*), *Vesamana* (=Skt. *Vāṣṭavaṇa*), *māhana* and *vā(h)hana* (=Skt. *brāhmaṇa*), all from the Bhagavatī; *āmela*, *āvela*, *ābila* (=Skt. *āpiḍa*), *kamandha* and *kavandha*, *tāma* and *yāma* (Apa-bhraṇṇa) for Skt. *tāvat* and *yāvat*, and a few others of even less importance.

On the basis of the following facts, it is claimed that the interchange of *v* and *m* goes back to the earliest Indian language, if not to Indo-European, and that it takes place in both directions.

Vedic *urvarā* 'field of grain' (*úrovpa*), joined with *sītā* 'furrow' among divinities of the field in Pār. Grh. S. ii. 17. 9, becomes *ūrmilā*, personified as sister of Sītā, in the Rāmāyaṇa; probably as diminutive derivative, with *u* lengthened by popular etymology (? *ūrmi* 'wave,' *ūrmilā* 'the wavy field'). Vedic is *srāma* 'mucus,' with *srāva* 'rheum,' the latter common, the former at Kāty. Ār. S. xx. 3. 13, glossed by two scholiasts with *ḡihhānaka*: cf. Ind. Stud. iv. 426. The Tāitt Ār. (vi. 7. 3, 4) has root *ḡmañc* for *ḡvañc* 'spread.' Yāska's treatment (Nir. v. 3) of *ḡmaçāna* 'cemetery' seems to me to imply a belief in the interchangeableness of *v* and *m*: *ḡmaçānaṁ ḡmaçayanam*; *ḡma çarīram*. He is himself puzzled by *ḡma=çarīram*; he regards it as a *n*-stem, *ḡman*, and uses it just afterward in explanation of *ḡmaçru* 'beard': *ḡmaçru loma ḡmani çritam*. This seems very interesting, as a case where Yāska, the oldest known etymologist, has inherited and misunderstood the material of one yet older, who had in mind a much more sensible explanation of *ḡma*, whether the true one or not. The accent of *ḡmaçāna* makes plausible a loss of *a* from the first syllable; if, then, we turn *ḡmaçāna* to *ḡvaçāna*, and restore such a lost *a*, we have *ḡva-çayanam* 'resting-place of a dead body'—an explanation very possible from a Hindu etymologist, but misreported by Yāska. Pāli *susāna*, as presupposing \**svasāna*, can hardly be quoted in support of this \**ḡvaçāna*, considering Sindhī *sūrti*=Skt. *smṛti*, and the like: cf. Ascoli, ib. p. 208, n. 22, and p. 222, n. 43. Further, for *vrandin* 'making slack' (RV. i. 54. 4, 5), Yāska (Nir. v. 15) says *vrandī vrandater mṛdubhāvakarmanāḥ*. To this Roth remarks (Erlaut. p. 60): "Root *vrad*, as indicated by Yāska himself, is without doubt a variant of root *mrad*, *mṛd*." Whether it be so or not, Yāska

must have had this in mind, and so have regarded the two sounds as interchangeable. The Tāitt. Saṁh. (iii. 1. 4<sup>3</sup>) has : *sa yamo devānām indriyām viryam ayuvata ; tad yamasya yamatvam*, as if *-yuv-* and *-yam-* were equivalent. In Kāuṣ. 128. 4 we find *ṣarva* and *ṣarman* in alliteration together : *somo rājā savitā ca rājā bhuvo rājā bhuvaṇaṁ ca rājā : ṣarvo rājā ṣarma ca rājā ta u naḥ ṣarma yachantu devāḥ*.

The influence of this relation between the two sounds is seen to be active in the readings of Vedic and Sanskrit manuscripts. My own collection comes largely from Atharvan literature ; doubtless the critical material of other Vedic texts would yield like instances. At Kāuṣ. 3. 8 and 187. 36, the MSS. read *ya ud udvataḥ* (v. l. *yad udvataḥ*) *un nīmataḥ* (v. l. *unnamataḥ*, *unnībataḥ*) *ṣakeyam*. My text gives *yad ud udvata un nīvataḥ ṣakeyam* (cf. TS. iii. 2. 4<sup>1</sup>) ; and I express my belief that the MSS. imply a mixture with the reading *yad udvata unnamataḥ ṣakeyam*. At any rate, the readings are explainable only on the ground of the similarity of the sounds. At AV. xix. 42. 3 occurs *śutrāmṇe* as variant of *śutrāvṇe*. The Gop. Brāh. (ii. 2. 3) and Vāit. Sū. (13. 16) have *ṣakmane*, while VS. (v. 5) reads *ṣakvane*. At Kāuṣ. 89. 1, four out of seven MSS. read *manvabhīḥ* for *manmabhīḥ* ; 65. 15, four out of seven read *devātvā* for *devātmā* ; 60. 19, two read *manthantām* for *-tāv* before *anumantrayate* ; 71. 1, we have the half-verse *aṅṣo rājā vibhajaṭī 'mām* (so all MSS.) *agnī vidhārayan*, where sense is made by amending *imām* to *imāv*. At AV. iii. 10. 10, the MSS. are divided between *samṛdhe* and *savṛdhe* ; at xii. 1. 2, some read *madhyatas* for *badhyatas* ; at xix. 31. 11, the editors consider *amṛtam* of the MSS. as meant for *avartim*, and again, at 35. 5, *vabhṛtenyas* for *martyebhyas*. At Pār. Gṛh. S. i. 16. 24, *ṣyāvaṣabalāu* occurs as variant for *ṣyāmaṣ-* ; and Nīlakaṇṭha (to MBh. iii. 16809) glosses *ṣyāva* with *ṣyāma* : it may be questioned whether the two are not results of the functional differentiation of one word. At Čāṅkh. Gṛh. S. iii. 10. 2, *ṣramo* is a variant to *ṣravo*. And I have noted *mīkṣate* for *vīkṣate* of some Vedic text.

From the later language can be added to Ascoli's cases the following : *ṣravaṇa* and *-ṇā* for *ṣramaṇa* and *-ṇā* 'begging monk ;' *aṣvanta* in Hemacandra for *aṣmanta* ; *aṣvaka* and *aṣmaka* for the same proper name ; *aṣmala* beside *aṣvaka* in Vopadeva ; *yamadvipa* and *yavadvipa* for the same island ; *yamanikā* beside *yavanikā* : see the Petersburg lexicon for all. In inscriptions, *Gominda* is found for *Govinda* (Bühler, Vallabhī Grants, xvi. ; p. 4 of the reprint). The Atharvan is now called Atterman-Veda in Kashmīr (see Roth, der AV. in Kaschmīr, p. 11). These last two examples are of special interest, as exhibiting unquestionable change from *v* to *m*, doubted by Ascoli. The root-form *hmal* for *hval* occurs in the Dhātupāṭha, Pāṇinī, Vopadeva, and the scholiast of the AV. Prātiṣākhya. At Čiç. ix. 24, *samavabodhiṣata* is to be amended, according to the scholiast, to *samam abodhiṣata*.

These cases are the results of casual collection within the past few years. Careful search would doubtless bring much more to light. To them, two cautions need to be applied. First, the later the word, the greater the probability of Prakritic influence, or even transfer from Prākṛit. Second, copyists are liable to introduce, sporadically, phonetic

tendencies of their own vernaculars—a variant to a Vedic text thus representing a fact in Prākṛit phonetics. Yet, with all due allowance made, there remains an important addition to Ascoli's material, carrying the correlation back even to the Veda, and showing the change to work in both directions.

That the correlation goes back to Indo-European times is indicated by the twin suffixes *mant* and *vant*, *man* and *van*, *min* and *vin*. The first pair seem differentiated according to a phonetic law, *mant* occurring only very rarely with *a*- or *ā*-stems (see Whitney's Gram., § 1235), and there seeming reason to believe that *vant* was originally restricted to such stems. The endings of the 1st persons dual and plural—*mas vas*, *ma va*, and so on—are usually regarded as couplets in which a difference originally phonetic has been utilized for functional purpose; if so, the forms in the various branches of the family show the primitiveness of the exchange. Of a similar character perhaps is the relation of Lat. *octāvus*, Gr. ὀκτώβιος, Skt. *aṣṭama*, Zd. *aṣtema*, Erse *ochtmad*, O. Slav. *osmŭ*, Lith. *aszmas*. Possibly also roots *drām* and *drav* (Skt. *drāmati*, Gr. δέδρομα; Skt. *drāvati*, Zd. *drāvayaṭ*). Ascoli (ib. p. 224) compares in this sense Pāli *bhū*=Skt. *bhrū*, and *bhamu*, *bhamuka*, with the Germ. *bram* and *brāwe*. Compare also his article *Di un gruppo di desinenze Indo-Europee*, ib. p. 85 fg. (especially p. 97 fg.); and Benfey, *Ueber einige Pluralbildungen*, p. 5 fg.

It is of course possible, and even likely, that some of the facts brought together in this paper will ultimately be disposed of in a manner more or less different from that here suggested; but it appears very unlikely ever to be proved that either the Vedic period or that preceding it was exempt from this phonetic peculiarity.

7. On Negative Clauses in the Rīgveda; by Miss Eva Channing, of Boston, Mass.

This paper discusses, first, a certain problematical construction after verbs of fearing; secondly, the question of possible double negatives in the Rīgveda; and, thirdly, the clauses containing *canā*, unaccompanied by a negative.

I. Is a negative after a verb of fearing admissible as a construction with the same value as, for example, in the French *je crains qu'il ne vienne*? To answer this question I examined the fifty-one examples under the root *bhī*, as well as the few under the roots *cāy*, *tras*, *paj*, *rej*, and *vīp*, and the expressions of fearing cited under the derivative nouns *bhīyas*, *bhī*, *bhīs*, and *bhīyas*.

At all periods of the language, the expression of fearing is regularly used either absolutely or in combination with the ablative (sporadically the genitive) of the thing feared. To express the idea, "I fear lest a thing may (or may not) happen," a paratactic clause with *iti* is used, but not in the RV. *saṃhitā*. Thus, so '*gnir abībhed itthaṃ vāva sya ārtim āriṣyati iti*, 'Agni feared, [thinking] "in the very same way will this one get into trouble."' (TS. ii. 6. 6').

An examination of all the pertinent passages, however, revealed only one case, real or apparent, of the construction in question. This is RV.

x. 51. 4. Agni, weary of his perpetual service at the sacrifice, fled and hid ; and, on discovery, he explains his escapade by saying,

*hotrād ahām varuṇa bībhyaḍ āyaṁ  
néd evā mā yunājann ātra devāḥ.*

Grassmann renders : 'Ich floh vom Opfer, Varuna, befürchtend, Dass wieder mich die Götter daran bänden.' Ludwig renders pāda *b* as if an *iti* were omitted at the end, which is in itself very improbable, to say nothing of *yunājann*, which should have no accent if *néd* means simply 'nót.' Kaegi's version is : 'Ich floh aus Furcht, o Varuna, vom Opfer, Dass [=damit] nicht die Götter mich dabei verwenden.' This I accept, with modifications suggested and supported by verse 6', and render : 'Dreading the discharge of my duties as *hotar*, I fled, in order that the gods might not employ me at them (*ātra*).'

Upon examination of the twenty-three occurrences of *bhī* in the Atharvan, I find no case of the construction in question. And unless the other *samhitās* contain something of the kind—which is not likely—we have for the *mantra* literature a result which, if negative, is none the less interesting and useful.

This search was suggested by the passage, *te devā mṛtyor bībhayām cakrur yad vāi no 'yam āyuṣo 'ntam na gacched iti*, Çat. Br. x. 4. 3<sup>3</sup>, where, if anywhere, the admission of this construction seems required or favored by the sense. But even here we may see the expression of a desire arising out of the fear, and (making *yad* = the frequent "recitative *ḅṛ*" of the N. T.) render : 'The gods feared Death, [hoping] "May this one not get at the end of our life."'

II. Is a collocation of two negatives admissible in the sense of a single negative? At RV. i. 165. 9, we read,

*ānuttam ā te maghavan nākir nū  
nā tvāvāṅ asti devatā vidānaḥ.*

Disregarding the common old view, Aufrecht (KZ. xxvi. 611) takes *anuttam* from *dā + anu* (rather than from *nud*) and renders : 'Allerdings wird dir zugestanden, es gibt keinen unter den Göttern der mit dir sich messen darf.' To do this, he cuts out *nā* and pronounces *tuā*-. Adopting his interpretation without his surgery, we find, on examining all the RV. clauses with *nākis*, no other that offers a more simple and unequivocal instance of a double negative in the sense of a single negative than this one does.

The following passages, however, contain what we cannot well explain otherwise than as downright duplications. The first is,

*nā tām rājānāv adite kṛtaḥ canā  
nā 'ñho aṣnoti duritām nākir bhayām,*

'Not him, . . , from anywhere doth sore (*duritām*) distress overtake, nor danger,' x. 39. 11. Similarly i. 81. 5. Another is viii. 24. 15 :

*nahī aṅgā purā canā jajñé vīrātaraḥ tuāt  
nākī rāyā nā evāthā nā bhandānā.*

'Néver indeed aforetime was born a mightier than thou—no one, nor in

wealth nor in glory.' That the double *nā* after *nākis* is not the general rule, appears from viii. 24. 17, vii. 32. 10, viii. 31. 17, etc.

But some of these duplications of the negative might be regarded rather as matters of style than of grammar. Thus, in viii. 67. 4, *nā suṣā nā sudā utā*: *nā 'nyaṣ tvāc chūra vāghātaḥ*, 'Not a provider nor a giver of good—not other than thee—hath the pious man,' the apparently superfluous third *nā* may be due to the suspension of the sense in the prior pāda. So at x. 22. 5, Indra is represented as having harnessed the horses of the wind, *yāyor devō nā mārtyo, yantā nākir vidāyiaḥ*, 'of which a driver cannot be found, god nor man'—the god addressed being of course excepted. We may here assume a departure, perhaps for metrical considerations, from the natural order, *yāyor yantā nākir vidāyyo devō nā mārtyaḥ*.

The last instance of a possible double negative equivalent to a single negative which a long search has revealed is vi. 27. 3. But if, with Grassmann, we join pāda *c* with *a* and *b* (and not, as does Ludwig, with *d*), the assumption of a double negative becomes needless.

III. The negative clauses most difficult to explain and classify are those with *canā*. Grassmann, *Dictionary*, s. v. *cana*, and Müller, *Hymns to the Maruts*, p. 251 ff., have classified the meanings and occurrences with more or less completeness. The development would seem to be as follows.

1. [Gr's 4 and 3; M's II.] *cana* = 'not even, and not:' e. g. viii. 1. 5, *mahē canā tvām pārā ṣulkāya deyaṃ*, 'Not even for a great price would I give thee up.'

2. [Gr's 1; M's Ia, c.] A negative with *canā* = 'not . . . —(not) even: e. g. i. 18. 7, *yāsmād ṛtē nā sidhyati yajñō—vipaṣcitāṣ canā* 'Without whom, the sacrifice does not turn out well—not even the wise man's.' Similarly, i. 81. 5, *nā tvāvāñ indra—kāṣ canā*, 'There is not thy like, O Indra—not even any one,' i. e. 'Not even any one is thy like.' (We must suppose that the indefinite force lay originally, as here, in the *ka*.) The *cana*, as a mere rhetorical repetition of a preceding negative, easily lost its strict negative meaning in such collocations, and became a mere 'at all' or 'even.'

3. [Gr's 2; M's Ib, d.] It now becomes easy to see how *cana*—even when detached from these collocations which properly include a negative—could still be used without any negative meaning: e. g. vi. 26. 7, *ahmā canā tāt sūribhir ānaṣyām*, 'Might even I attain it with the masters.' This use of *cana* by itself dies out in the Vedic period, but in combination with derivatives of *ka* is common in the classical language.

In the great majority of cases (57), the *cana* occurs with a preceding negative and falls under head 2. To offset these are the cases (29) of *cana* without a preceding negative: viz. of simple *cana*, 21; of *kaṣ cana*, 5; and of *kadā cana*, 3. In some, the *cana* is unquestionably negative; in others, no less certainly positive. The problem is therefore to dispose these cases aright under 1 and 3.

Under 1 belong, of the twenty-one cases of simple *cana* as negative, the following: five, unquestionably, namely vi. 3. 2; viii. 1. 5; ii. 24. 12; v. 34. 7; Vāl. 7. 5; four very probably, namely i. 166. 12; 152. 2; iv. 30.

3; viii. 2. 14; and three, about which opinions may differ, vii. 18. 9; 32. 13; x. 56. 4. Of the five examples of *kaç cana*, ii. 16. 2 certainly belongs here. And the Petersburg Lexicon appears to be right in putting here all the three cases of *kadā cana*, i. 150. 2; Vāl. 3. 7; 4. 7.

Under 3 belong, of the cases of simple *cana* without negative meaning, most unquestionably iv. 18. 8, 9 (*mamac cana* with *mamac cid*); then follow vi. 26. 7; viii. 80. 3; x. 49. 5; and to these we may add i. 55. 5 and viii. 67. 10. Of the *kaç cana* examples, i. 113. 8 and iii. 30. 1 belong more naturally here.

Too doubtful for classification is vii. 83. 2. Respecting i. 139. 2 Ludwig has a full discussion at iv. 194. The greatest difference of opinion prevails respecting vii. 86. 6. Finally, the passages v. 41. 13 and i. 191. 7 are too obscure to throw much light on the subject; and v. 82. 2 belongs under 2, only—be it observed—the *na* follows the *kac cana*, instead of preceding it.

In the Atharva-Veda there are—disregarding the Rik-passages—thirty-nine *cana* clauses. It is interesting to observe that there is not a single instance without an accompanying negative, and that the negative precedes in every case but one. There are only four instances of simple *cana* without some form of *ka*, while the Rik has forty-seven such to thirty-nine with *ka*.

8. On the ancient Persians' abhorrence of falsehood, illustrated from the Avesta; by Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

After citing the testimony of Herodotus i. 138, of Diodorus Siculus xvi. 43, and of the Old Persian Inscriptions [Bh. i. 10(34), iv. 4(34), 5(38), 6(43), 8(49), 13(63), 14(68), H. 17, 20—see Spiegel, *Alt-p. Keilinschriften*], in regard to the ancient Persians' abhorrence of falsehood, this paper reviewed the references to lying in the Avesta and showed that the same thought ran through the whole.

An examination of the following passages, Yasna xii. 4, Yasht iii. 9, 12, 13, 16, Ys. lxi. 2-3, xlix. 3, Yt. v. 92-93, proved, from the connection alone, how great an abomination falsehood was held to be.

It was noticed also that the very tenets of the Avestan belief naturally led to associating truth with light, and to regarding falsehood as the offspring of darkness; that in the oft-recurring fiend called Druj, the spirit of evil who harms especially by deceit, is found the personification of lying; but in the adoration paid to Mithra we have, in the broadest sense, the worship of the god of light and truth, Yt. x. 7, the witness of oaths, Vendidad iv. 55, and the preserver of good faith, Yt. x. 116-117.

The civil penalties for the violation of the promise or oath in Mithra's name, as given at Vd. iv. 11-16, 55, were next examined; and the punishments believed to be inflicted by the god himself upon those who had proved false to their pledge (*mithrōdruj*), together with the benefits received by the truthful, as described in Yt. x., were taken up in detail.

It was shown, besides, by mention of other passages, Ys. li. 10, xxxi. 12, xlix. 9, xxx. 8, etc., that although the evil of false-speaking was rife,

still there had been times when there was no lying, cf. Vd. ii. 37, Yt. xix. 33 ff., Vd. xix. 46; and after remarking on Vispered xx. 2, Ys. lx. 5, xlv. 14, in which a special appeal is made for deliverance from the sin of falsehood, the paper concluded by referring to the fact that in the description of the millennium looked for in the Avestan religion, Yt. xix. 92-96, lying is particularly mentioned as one of the great evils that is to be overcome by good.

9. Rev. William Hayes Ward, of New York City, exhibited a few photographs of Hittite sculptures recently uncovered on the site of some mounds near Aintab in Asiatic Turkey. They are large slabs of black trachyte in low relief, like the friezes in the Assyrian palaces, and represent human and animal forms somewhat like those uncovered by Consul Henderson at Jerablus, the ancient Carchemish.

He also exhibited a selection of cylinder seals representing various types, Phœnician, Syrian (perhaps Hittite), Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian.

10. Hindu Eschatology and the Katha Upanishad; by Prof. W. D. Whitney, of New Haven.

The following is an abstract of Professor Whitney's paper :

The first recorded view held in Aryan India as to the condition of man after death is also the clearest and most consistent one; nor have its effects ever disappeared in Hindu faith and practice. It may be called the Vedic view, for it is the only one found in the Rîg-Veda, though the evidence of it is chiefly confined to a group of hymns in the Xth book. It corresponds in general with that of many other primitive races, being simply the belief in a life beyond the grave, and a life of happiness. So far as depicted, this life seems much like the life on earth: like in employments, and hence the burying or burning of arms and utensils with the corpse; like in needs, especially as regards food; this is very naïvely expressed in many Vedic verses, where the offerings to the "Fathers" are accompanied with distinct statement of its necessity as means of their support. The resulting sacrifices continue conspicuously obligatory throughout the whole after history of India; it is one of the leading objects of a man's life to beget a son who shall pay him the ancestral offerings. This is sufficiently motivated only by the Vedic doctrine; but it has long survived that doctrine. Perhaps the whole history of religions, though rich in such features, presents no more striking example of practices faithfully, stubbornly maintained, when the faith that should still inform them has disappeared.

The orthodox doctrine in modern India is also pretty clear. It is the necessary continuance of life by a round of successive births, having a retributory character, each being reward or punishment for the deeds of its predecessor or predecessors. But this, which would be metempsychosis pure and simple, is not left thus; rather, it is mixed with another kind of retribution, by heavens and hells; retributory residence in these is followed by retributory re-birth. There is no concinnity in this; it seems to be a mechanical mixture, a grafting of one mode of retribution on another.

The element of retribution is altogether wanting in the Vedic doctrine ; and its absence is characteristic of that stage of development of religious belief. Its introduction later is equally in accordance with the general course of religious history ; it is a part of the prevailing shift from the basis of nature to that of morality. The word *naraka* 'hell' is found once, in no clearly-defined connection, in the Atharva-Veda, and a few times in the Brāhmaṇas ; and Yama, in the Veda a beneficent ruler of the departed, becomes the dreadful judge and executioner of later times.

These two doctrines, then, of another world and of heaven and hell, are natural and easily explained phases of a continuous religious history ; there is no reason to believe them other than truly popular in origin, products of the national religious consciousness. But such can hardly be the case with the doctrine of metempsychosis ; this seems to stand apart from the others, as something fundamentally different, and of independent origin : its explanation, in fact, is most difficult, constituting the great problem of Hindu religion. It seems like a more individual product, a part of the philosophy of a limited school, though coming by degrees to be widely adopted. Of its wide adoption, its assumption in a measure into the national consciousness, the best evidence is the spread of Buddhism, which (so far as we at present understand Buddhism) reposes upon it as an indispensable foundation. Buddhism stands on one plane, not with Hindu religions in general, but with the systems of Hindu philosophy ; all these postulate the round of births, and teach the method of escape from it ; Buddhism having its own special way, one more human and more capable of being popularized than the rest. All alike imply pessimism ; in the account of life's good and evil, the evil predominates, and the balance is a minus one. Otherwise, a succession of births would be welcomed ; one would rejoice to live again, even if in part as a lower animal, for the chance of another happy human life ; the risk would be estimated as worth running. This pessimistic view of life is utterly opposed to that which prevailed in Vedic time ; nor does it appear possible to have arisen among the masses of a people which, on the whole, has continued through its whole history to fight and toil and acquire and enjoy and sing and dance, much like other peoples in the world, as well as like its own ancestors.

This problematic doctrine of metempsychosis first appears in that stage of religious thought in India which is chiefly represented by the oldest Upanishads—that is to say, in the later Brāhmaṇa period ; since no fixed line of division can be drawn between Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka and Upanishad. Hence, to study its aspects in the Upanishads is a matter of prime importance. And there is one of these works in particular, the so-called Katha-Upanishad, which ought to teach us more than any other, because it expressly concerns itself with the question what death is, and what becomes of the departed. It is proposed to give here a brief summary of its teachings.

The treatise is introduced by a story. A certain man, Vājaçravasa, has a young son Nachiketas. The father, in religious zeal, gives away his whole property to the Brahmins—a frequent feature in stories of



pious chiefs. Then "faith enters" the boy also : that is, he enters into the full religious spirit of the occasion, and thinks that, to complete the work of renunciation, he himself ought also to be given away ; and he teases his father with the repeated question "To whom art thou going to give me?" till the latter angrily replies "I give thee to death"—one can easily imagine the equivalent answer of an impatient and profane father at the present day.

Nachiketas takes it seriously, and goes.

It will not do, however, for us to take the story too seriously, drawing inferences from it as to the beliefs of its narrators. It stands on something the same plane as, for example, the *Volksmärchen* of Grimm, in which people go to heaven and get in by tricking Saint Peter, or go to hell and are hidden in a bin by the devil's grandmother, and the like. Death (*mṛtyu*) is no deity to the Hindu, but only a personification, like our own wielder of the scythe and hour-glass.

Now the story plays a trick upon Death. He happens to be away from home when Nachiketas arrives, and does not return till three days later. So this boy, who has been made over to him as a gift, and ought therefore submissively to wait till his master should be ready to employ him, is all at once endowed with the character of a Brahman guest, whom Death has allowed to wait three days at his gate without receiving any hospitable attention. This puts Death so entirely in the wrong that he can only apologize with humility, and offer Nachiketas three boons : that is, the fulfilment of three requests, whatever the boy may choose to make them.

We expect as first boon liberty to return to the world of the living. That, however, is not asked by Nachiketas ; it seems to be assumed that, as Brahman guest, he will of course return when it suits him ; and the actual request is the very superfluous one that his father may have recovered from his anger when they meet again.

The second request is absolutely out of the line of an Upanishad, and akin only with the absurd ceremonial formality of the Brāhmaṇas. It is that Death will teach Nachiketas a certain sacrifice, which brings its performer to heaven, where there is no longer any fear of death ; the secret of it consisting in the number and kind and arrangement of the bricks of which the fire-altar shall be built. Death grants his wish, and moreover promises that the ceremony shall be called *nācīketa* after him, and that one who performs it thrice shall assuredly reach heaven. Such a one is styled a *trīnācīketa* 'of three *nācīketa*'s.'

So far, the story might seem only one of those in which the Brāhmaṇas abound, fabricated, often at considerable length, merely to explain some sacrificial act or name—this time, the term *trīnācīketa*. And it must, in my opinion, be regarded as altogether probable that this was in fact originally the whole of the story, or the kernel of it ; and that another and later re-working has added on what remains, only thus converting it from an ordinary Brāhmaṇa-legend into something fit to be called an Upanishad. Nachiketas, namely, goes on : "That question that there is respecting a man who is departed : 'he is,' say some ; and 'this one is not,' say some ; that let me know, instructed by thee : of the boons this

is the third boon." The discordance, and even direct contradiction, between the second and third boons is so palpable, that their subsistence side by side as parts of the same original story seems inadmissible. And it may be plausibly conjectured that room was made for this addition of a new third boon by leaving off the original first: namely, the return of Nachiketas to his home.

This matter of the development of the story, however, is of only minor interest. At any rate, we have Death himself placed in the teacher's seat, and pledged to answer the question, what becomes of a man when he dies? At first, indeed, he tries hard to beg off, pleading the difficulty of the subject, "about which even the gods of old have doubted;" he promises Nachiketas temporal gifts and blessings of every kind if only this question be withdrawn; but the boy spurns them all, and Death has to (apparently) yield; and he goes on discoursing in answer through nearly a hundred double verses. And yet he proves too sharp for his questioner; for it is wonderful how little he contrives to tell; and if the boy thought himself answered, he was more easily satisfied than we can be. Death does not address himself directly to the subject in hand; there is neither concinnity, nor progression, nor conclusion in what he says; he discourses up and down and around and about, on a variety of topics, only now and then dropping an allusion to his professed theme. Instead, therefore, of attempting to give an abstract of the treatise, we may best pick out these scattered allusions, arranging them under different heads.

First, there is a heavenly world, to which, at death, one goes as reward, enjoying there a happy immortality.

The first and leading passage for this is found in the introduction to Nachiketas's request to be taught the ceremony that takes one to heaven; and hence, if it conflicted with doctrines found elsewhere in the treatise, it would have no right to count for anything. It reads thus (addressed by the boy to Death):

i. 12. 'In the heavenly world is no [cause of] fear whatsoever; not there art thou; one fears not because of old age; having passed both hunger and thirst, getting beyond pain, one enjoys himself in the heaven-world.'

And the next verse (i. 13) adds: 'They that have heaven for their world partake of immortality.' Then (i. 14) Death, promising to teach the desired fire, says: 'Know thou the attainment of the endless world, and likewise firm standing' (*pratiṣṭhā*: i. e. undisturbed enjoyment of it). Further (i. 17), one possessing the necessary knowledge 'gets beyond old age and death' and 'goes to the endless;' and again (i. 18), 'pushing away before him the bonds of death, getting beyond pain, he enjoys himself in the heaven-world.'

But there are supporting expressions also in the Upanishad proper, and, on the other hand, none that militate against these. Thus (ii. 17), 'knowing that support (the sacred syllable *om*), one is exalted (*mahīyate*) in the *brahma*-world;' and it is promised (iii. 16, 17) to one who hears or repeats the Nachiketas story that he shall 'be exalted in the *brahma*-world,' and 'fitted for endlessness.' Further on (iv. 1) we hear of 'some

wise man seeking immortality,' and (2) 'the wise who know immortality.' Then, in the next section (v. 12, 13), we read 'the wise, who behold him existing within themselves—of them there is everlasting happiness (in verse 13, everlasting tranquility), not of others.' Again, in the final section (vi. 2, and again 9), 'whoever know this, they become immortal;' (vi. 8) 'knowing which, a being is liberated, and goes to immortality;' (vi. 14) 'when all desires are let go, . . . then a mortal becomes immortal;' (vi. 15) 'when all the knots of the heart here are severed, then a mortal becomes immortal: so far the teaching.' This last phrase appears to indicate the conclusion of the Upanishad proper; but a few verses are still added. One puts forward the physical theory (vi. 16) that, of the hundred and one arteries of the heart, one passes out to the crown of the head, and 'by that, going upward, one goes to immortality;' another (vi. 17) declares that one should know the inner self to be 'bright, immortal;' and the next teaches that Nachiketas, having received this doctrine from Death, 'became free from death.'

In all this is seen no hint of anything like a release from the bonds of individual existence, an absorption into the world-soul, or Brahma; immortality is as frankly coveted as in the olden time. Only it is no longer a universal immortality, but one limited to those who can show title to it; that title being already, as later, sufficiency of knowledge. We have next to see what the alternative is, and against whom it is threatened.

In the second section (ii. 6), Death says of the 'careless youth (*bāla*), fooled with the folly of wealth, and thinking "this is the world; there is no other,"' that he 'again and again falls into my power'—which of course implies a being born again and again. Rather more clearly, in the next section (iii. 7): 'But he that is not possessed of discrimination, that is mindless, ever impure, doth not obtain that place, and entereth upon *saṁsāra*.' Here is the first occurrence of this word, later so important; but that it already means the 'round of births' is plainly indicated by the next verse (iii. 8), which says of the man who is the opposite in all points to the one just described, that 'He indeed obtaineth that place whence one is not born any more.' Further on, it is said (iv. 10) that 'he obtaineth death from death (i. e. one death after another) who here seeth [things] as it were in separateness' (i. e. does not recognize the identity or unity of all things); and the next verse (iv. 11) repeats the same statement, with the variation 'he goeth to death from death.' And once more, rather more distinctly, after announcing (v. 6) 'Come now, I will proclaim to thee the secret eternal *brahman*, and what becomes of the self after obtaining death, O Gautama,' Death goes on (v. 7): 'Some souls (*dehin*, lit'ly 'incorporate ones') come to the womb, in order to obtain a body (*garīratvāya*, lit'ly 'in order to body-hood'); others go after immovable [matter]—according to their deeds, according to their instruction (*gruta*).' And then the teacher flies off again, to indefinite generalities.

It thus appears that the alternative fate, reserved for those who have not the desert that should bring them to heaven, is a return to earth in various and successive forms of being. To show that this, however

dimly conceived and uncertainly stated, is the only alternative contemplated in the treatise, we may go on to review all the other passages in which death or its consequences are mentioned.

We have already noticed above that even the gods are declared to be, or to have been, doubtful as to the state of a man after death (i. 21): 'On this point it hath been variously argued (*vicikitsitam*) even by the gods of old (*purā*); for it is not easily to be decided (*suviññeyam*); subtle is that subject (*dharma*; a very unusual sense of the word).' This is not a little naïve, especially as put into the mouth of Death himself; what we have to infer from it, doubtless, is the very unsettled state of opinion on the matter, even among advanced thinkers, at the time of our treatise. In the next section we have a couple of verses (ii. 18, 19) which are famous, and which moreover recur nearly intact in the Bhagavad-Gītā (ii. 19, 20): 'The seer (*vipaścīt*) is not born nor does he die; he (*ayam*) is not from any source soever nor any one soever; unborn, constant, eternal (*çāçvata*), ancient, he (*ayam*) is not slain when the body is slain. If the slayer thinks himself to slay, if the slain thinks himself slain, both those understand not; he (*ayam*) slays not, is not slain.' Here the specification of the 'seer' as the one of whom this is true, with the repeated use of *ayam* 'this one' (i. e. apparently, 'such a one'), in referring to him, seems intended to restrict the statement made to one possessed of the requisite knowledge, as in the passages quoted under our first head above; the Bhagavad-Gītā makes no such restriction. In the third section, only an expression or two are worth quoting: thus (iii. 9), he who controls himself 'reaches the further end of the road: that is Vishnu's highest place:' another way of saying that he goes to the zenith, or straight upward—that is, to a local heaven; and again (iii. 15), one attaining certain cognitions 'then is freed from the mouth of death.' That the old doctrine of another world for all men is not extinct, is indicated by the mention in the last section (vi. 5) of the 'world of the Fathers' (or *manes*).

This is all that the Upanishad has to say respecting death and the life after death. Its important points are these: 1. the continuation of the old eternal heaven of happiness for those who are worthy to attain it, such worthiness consisting especially in true knowledge; 2. the absence of any hell for those not found worthy; but, 3. the condemnation of such to a return to earthly existence—which, of course, by contrast with the happiness of the blest, is a state of misery.

That the doctrine of the other Upanishads is essentially the same with this could easily be shown by quotations from their texts; it has been pointed out, too, by Barth, in his excellent work on the Religions of India (English translation, p. 78).

11. Rev. John S. Chandler, a missionary among the Tamil people, gave some account of this important and ancient Dravidian language, and also of a curious discussion, begun by a Christian teacher and now vigorously carried on by the heathen, respecting the term Çānār, the name of one of the lowest Çūdra races. They are trying to establish themselves as "Dravidian Kshatriyas," and have assumed a sacred thread and adopted some Brahman customs.

Mr. Chandler also adverted to some attempts now making by educated Brahmans to reconcile their religion with modern science.

12. The Ao-Naga Language of Southern Assam ; by Prof. John Avery, of Brunswick, Maine.

The people speaking this language belong to the Central division of the Naga tribes, and their location may be roughly defined as on the hills forming the southern border of the Sibsagar District, between the western branch of the Dikho river on the east, and 26° 14' N. lat. on the west. They call themselves Ao, but are more commonly known by their Assamese names, Hatigonias, Dupdorias, Assiringias, etc. They number about one hundred thousand. Their language was first reduced to writing by the Rev. E. W. Clark, a missionary of the American Baptist Union, who has recently translated, in Roman character, the Gospels of Matthew and John, and the history of Joseph in Genesis.

Of Ao-Naga sounds, one misses not only the sonant aspirates, a feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages generally, but the surd aspirates as well. There appears to be no restriction as to initial letters ; and most occur as final, though the vowels, nasals, and *r* end syllables in a great majority of instances. The *ng*-sound, which is very frequent as a final, seldom occurs as an initial.

Gender, which is attributed only to living objects, is generally denoted by sexual names ; but a feminine suffix *la* and a masculine suffix *po* are occasionally used. Also the words for 'male' or 'female' may be placed after a word to mark gender. Plurality is not expressed when the context shows the number ; otherwise, a syllable *tüm* is affixed to the word, e. g. *nisung* 'man,' *nisungtüm* 'men.' A noun of multitude, as *rong*, *nungür*, *telok*, etc., often performs the same office. The language possesses no dual.

The case-relations of nouns are expressed by postpositions, except that of possessor, which is indicated solely by position before the governing noun. The following are some of the more usual combinations :

SING.		PLU.	
Nom.	<i>nisung(e)</i> 'man'	Nom.	<i>nisungtüm(e)</i> 'men'
Acc.	{ <i>nisung dang</i> }		
Dat.			
Inst.	<i>nisung age</i> 'by man'	Inst.	<i>nisungtüm age</i> 'by men'
Abl.	<i>nisung nunge</i> 'from man'		etc. etc.
Gen.	<i>nisung</i> 'of man'		
Loc.	<i>nisung nung</i> 'in man'		
Voc.	<i>ina nisung</i> 'O man'		

The suffix *e* in the nominative is used only when the case would otherwise be ambiguous. So the accusative-sign is often omitted. Substantives take a variety of derivative suffixes, most of which are common to them with verbs and adjectives, since there is no complete formal distinction between these three parts of speech. A much-used suffix *ba* forms nouns of agency and passive adjectives : e. g. *zümbäba* 'a speaker' or 'spoken.' The Lepcha has a suffix *bo*, which has like uses and form ;

and the Khasi uses *ba* as a relative pronoun and adjective-forming prefix.

Adjectives are distinguished by no formal sign, and are compared as in other languages of this family: thus, the object with which another is compared is placed first in an oblique case, followed by the second object, and lastly by the adjective without sign of comparison: thus, *ziungtsüdang taküm tuluba*, 'the life is more than meat'--lit. 'to meat life great [is].' The language has separate names for the digits and most of the tens. The compound terms from eleven to fifteen are formed by placing a digit after the ten: e. g. *teri-asüm*, 'ten-three.' From sixteen to twenty, twenty-six to thirty, and so on, a different principle is followed: thus, *metsü-maben-trok*, 'twenty-not-brought-six,' i. e. 'the six next below twenty.' 'Seventy' is *tenem ser metsü*, 'fifty and twenty'; 'eighty' is *lir anasü*, 'two times forty.' The ordinals are formed by adding *puba* or *buba* to the cardinals: e. g. *anapuba*, 'second'; numeral adverbs use a suffix *ben*: e. g. *asümben*, 'thirdly.'

The language has the usual pronouns, except the possessive and perhaps the relative. The personal pronouns are:

	SING.		PLU.
	nom.	oblique.	
1st	<i>ni</i>	<i>kü</i>	<i>onok, ozo, asen, asenok</i>
2d	<i>na</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nenok</i>
3d	<i>pa</i>	<i>ba</i> or <i>pa</i>	<i>parenok</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ya*, 'this,' and *iba*, *ibazi*, or *azi*, 'that' or 'it.' The interrogatives are *shir* or *shiba*, referring to persons, and *kechi*, relating to things. The same are also used as relatives. The indefinite pronouns are *shinga* and *kecha*, distinguished as above. A reflexive pronoun for all persons and numbers is *pei*.

The Ao-Naga verb makes no distinction of person or number, is poor in mode-forms, but fairly expresses the principal relations of time. Taking the root *ben* 'bring' as an example, the following are the forms in most common use: *ni bener*, 'I bring'; *ni bendage* (or *daka*), 'I am bringing' (for the first time); *ni abener*, 'I am bringing' (and have been doing so); *ni aben*, 'I brought'; *ni benogo*, 'I brought' (more remotely); *ni bendi*, 'I am about to bring'; *ni bentsü*, 'I shall bring'; *benang* (2d or 3d person), 'bring'; *teben*, 'bring not'; *ni benra* or *bendir*, 'if I shall bring'; *benrang*, 'if I shall have brought'; *bener*, 'bringing'; *bena*, 'having brought.' There are various suffixes which singly or combined form derivative conjugations: thus, *bendaktsü*, 'cause to bring'; *bentsü*, 'bring for another'; *bennü*, 'desire to bring'; *bentet*, 'able to bring'; *bendaktsünü*, 'desire to cause to bring,' etc. The verb has no strictly passive form; either the sentence is so constructed as to avoid it, or a quasi-passive is produced by a helping-verb and a verbal adjective in *ba* or a verbal root, e. g. *pa zümbiba* (or *zümbi aka*, 'he was said.' The latter form may also mean 'he said.' Other periphrastic uses of the verb occur.

The construction of the Ao-Naga sentence is simple. The verb stands last, and the subject generally first. Interrogative words stand at the beginning less often than in English. Relative clauses, and all

expressions standing in place of them, precede antecedent clauses. A common construction is a clause, with subject nominative and verb in any tense, governed by a postposition, like a noun. The possessor precedes the thing possessed, and the adjective commonly follows its noun, in which case any governing postposition is placed after the adjective. Pronouns used adjectively have no invariable position relatively to their nouns.

13. On a sacrificial Tablet from Sippar ; by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

Among the interesting objects brought by the Wolfe Expedition from Chaldea are several cuneiform tablets containing lists of sacrifices made to the gods. One of these is from the famous temple of the Sun-god in Sippar, and records the offerings made at that city in the third year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The month and perhaps also the day were originally given, but only a part of the sign for the month has been preserved. The tablet has suffered slight damage by friction at the upper right hand corner, resulting in the loss of a part of the date, a part of the name Babylon, and perhaps of the name of one of the six kinds of sacrifice mentioned. There is also a very small fracture at the lower left hand corner, which, however, in no wise interferes with the understanding of the whole. In the third line the names of the animals and other objects used in sacrifice are given, and include oxen, oil, and two varieties of birds (elsewhere occasionally mentioned in sacrificial lists in the royal annals). What kinds of birds these were I have not made out, nor what the fifth object of sacrifice was. Down the tablet, in a column on the right, are arranged the names of the gods to whom sacrifices were made. These include Shamash, Marduk, Zirpanit, Ramān, Shala, Nanā, Anunit, Anu, Bēl, and several others. In six columns down the tablet are arranged numerals corresponding to the six kinds of sacrifice, and showing how many of each kind were offered to the various gods. Thus, Shamash received of the first five kinds one, and of the sixth kind two. Ramān and Shala together received of the first none, of the second and third two, of the fourth and fifth one, and of the sixth none. On the back of the tablet are the names of four men, but whether they belonged to the priests or to those who made the offering I have not yet determined. Such documents as this are worthy of close examination, and it is evident that results may be expected which shall have high value for comparative purposes. Especially fruitful does such an investigation promise to be for the study of the development of the Jewish ritual. So far as I am aware, attention has never been called to this class of documents, which, I should suppose, must exist in considerable numbers in the Assyrian collection of the British Museum.

14. On certain important recent Assyriological publications ; by Prof. Lyon.

The *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, under the editorship of Dr. Carl Bezold, has completed its second volume, and maintains its high rank. In entering on its third volume, the name has been changed to

*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.* Among the most valuable contributions to vol. ii. are "Additions and Corrections to the fifth volume of The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," by Mr. T. G. Pinches; "*Assyriologische Notizen zum Alten Testamente*," by Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch; and "*Der Nabunid-cylinder V Rawl. 64, umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt*," by Johannes Latrille. Of publications which have been appearing in parts, the *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter*, etc. by J. N. Strassmaier, S.J., has just reached completion, and makes a lithographed volume of 1144 pages. This is a work of great industry, representing years of the most painstaking copying and collating, but its value is rather as a concordance than as a lexicon, because the author has rarely given definitions. As an appendix to this volume, Mr. Strassmaier has published a transliterated *Wörterverzeichnis zu den Babylonischen Inschriften im Museum zu Liverpool*, 66 pp. The third edition of Friedrich Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke* has appeared, revised and enlarged. The greatest changes from the second edition are these: that a short passage is transliterated and translated for the use of beginners; that some Babylonian inscriptions are added, and also a list of the Babylonian signs; and that the book has been provided with a vocabulary of eleven pages, including the most common words in the Assyrian language. This volume is an indispensable book for every Assyrian student. Perhaps the most beautiful and valuable product of Assyrian study during the past year is Dr. Heinrich Zimmern's *Babylonische Busspsalmen, umschrieben, übersetzt, und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1885. These penitential psalms, often agreeing to an astonishing extent, both in conception and in expression, with the psalms of the Hebrew Scriptures, are among the most important remains of the Babylonian civilization; and Dr. Zimmern has brought to their interpretation a wealth of etymological material, a familiarity with the cuneiform literature, a keenness of insight, and a soundness of judgment, which have rarely been equaled in Assyrian study. This work, which grew out of Dr. Zimmern's inaugural dissertation, gives promise of the highest usefulness on the part of the young author. Part I. of Prof. C. P. Tiele's *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte* has appeared, Gotha, 1886. It covers the period from the earliest times to the death of Sargon II., 705 B. C. What the author considers as historically beyond question has been printed double-leaded; while his explanations and his references to the literature are in single-leaded type. After the introduction, devoted to the sources, land and people, division and chronology (pages 3-99), comes the brief discussion of the Old Babylonian Period (pp. 100-131), then the First Assyrian Period (pp. 132-216), and lastly the Second Assyrian Period (pp. 217-282). The last section will be continued in Part II. and the New Babylonian Period will be presented. A fuller notice will be given after the whole has appeared.

15. Three Hymns of the first book of the Atharva-Veda; by Prof. Bloomfield.

The following proposed interpretations are founded in the main upon the Kāuṣika-Sūtra and its commentary by Dārila. Along with a similar



note published in the Proceedings of a year ago (Journal, vol. xiii., p. xlii), they are believed to show that the Atharvan liturgical literature aids the exegesis of the text more effectively than is the case with that of the other Vedas. A trustworthy tradition, as regards the general purport of most hymns and their use in the ceremonial, appears to have been preserved from early time down to the (doubtless late) commentator. A complete comment to the Kāuṣika is still wanting (see Proceedings for October, 1883 : Journal, vol. xi., p. clxxi) ; it is to be hoped that these evidences of its value may lead to a careful search for it on the part of those scholars who are in position to do so with any chance of success.

I. Atharva-Veda i. 2. Translated by Weber (Ind. Stud. iv. 394), who calls it "a charm against colic (*Reissen*)."  
The word *āsrāva* is the pivotal one, and the translators are by no means agreed as to its value ; it occurs also in ii. 3 and vi. 44. Zimmer (*Altind. Leben*, p. 392) renders it "festering of a wound ;" Ludwig wavers between "attack of sickness" (Rig-Veda iii. 507) and "attack of cold" (ib. p. 509) ; Grill (*Hundert Lieder des AV.*, p. 14) gives it as "bad flux" (*böser Fluss*). A word meaning primarily 'a flowing to' admits evidently of a varied application. The real value however is 'diarrhoea,' which is quite as reconcilable with the etymology of the word ; the Greek and Sanskrit terms, indeed, contain the same root. This sense is indicated by the second verse, which reads in Weber's translation : "Bowstring, twine about us, make my body like stone so hard." The verse is accompanied in practice by the very proceeding described in it. The Kāuṣika-Sūtra (xxv. 6) says . . . *muñjaḥ rājivā badhnāti*, 'he ties the head of a stalk of *muñja*-grass (to the sick person?)' ; and the commentator Dārila adds *atisārabhāṣajyam āsrāva-ṣabdasya tadvādītvāt* 'a remedy for diarrhoea, because the word *āsrāva* means that.' Compare the fourth verse : "As the missile in its (upward) flight hangs between heaven and earth, so may the *muñja*-grass stand between sickness and diarrhoea." The Kāuṣika goes on : 7. *ākṛtiloṣṭa-valmīkāu parīlikhya* (Dār. *parīlikhanam cūrṇikaraṇam*) *pāyayati* 'one grinds up a lump of earth from a field and a lump containing ants(?), and gives it to the sick person to drink ;' 8. *sarpiṣā līmpati* 'one anoints him with sacrificial melted butter ;' 9. *apidhamati* : Dār. *apāne dhamati atisāriṇām* : 'one blows upon the anus of those having diarrhoea.'

Further evidence corroborating the view taken of this hymn by the Hindu authorities is to be found in its situation. The hymn next following in the Atharvan, and applied after it in the Kāuṣika, deals with the opposite trouble, constipation and retention of urine, according to the agreeing opinion of the two European translators (Weber, ib. p. 395 ; Zimmer, ib. p. 394), and of the Kāuṣika and Dārila. Its opening verse is very like the first verse of the hymn we have been treating : "We know the father of the arrow, Parjanya of hundredfold manly power ; by this may I bring prosperity to thy body ; make thy outpouring upon the earth ; out of thee let it come, with the sound *bāl*." Parjanya is the god of rain ; and it is clear that these necessary functions are viewed symbolically as a raining down upon the earth, and hence under the control of that god.

II. Atharva-Veda i. 12. This also is translated by Weber, ib. p. 405.

He entitles it "against burning fever," and renders the first verse thus : "A red bull, first product of the afterbirth, comes on thundering with rain, with glowing breath of wind. May he spare our bodies, he who tears straight along, who in single strength divides himself in three." He regards the fever as puerperal, or else as that of a new-born child. Ludwig mentions the hymn (ib., p. 343), regarding it as perhaps against inflammation. Zimmer (ib., p. 390) refers to it in connection with the word *vāta*, which he translates "wound," also identifying *vāta* and *wound* etymologically : *vātabhrajās* "suffering from wound-fever:" he thinks this makes the hymn clearer. I would, on the contrary, entitle it "prayer to lightning conceived as cause of fever, headache, and colds," and translate thus :

1. 'The first red bull, born from the [cloud-] womb (literally, the placenta), born of wind and the cloud (*vātabhrajās* emended to *vātābhrajās* : cf. verse 3a), comes on thundering with the rain. May he, who cleaving goes straight on, spare our bodies ; he who, a single force, divides himself in three.

2. 'Bowing down to thee who fastenest thyself with heat upon every limb, we would reverence thee with oblation ; we would reverence with oblation the crooks and angles of thee, that hast vigorously seized the limbs of this one.

3. 'Release him from headache and also from cough, which has entered every joint of him ; may he who is born of the cloud, and born of the wind, the whizzing [lightning] (cf. RV. vi. 3. 8d, *vidyūn nā davidyot svēbhiḥ çuṣmāḥ* ; and RV. iv. 10. 4c, *prā te divō nā stanayanti çuṣmāḥ*), strike the trees and the mountains.'

The fourth verse is of no significance.

This book of the Atharvan is a miscellaneous collection of hymns containing in general four verses each. While there is no definite arrangement of the hymns, there is a tendency to group two or more of somewhat similar content. First comes (as in the three following books) a single hymn of more general philosophical character, then (see above) two against diarrhoea and constipation respectively, then three to the waters, then two against witchcraft, then two of diverse content but each mentioning Varuna in the first verse ; and then follows the eleventh hymn, for easy delivery in child-bed, containing many times the word *jarāyu* 'afterbirth.' Next to this is placed the hymn now under discussion, doubtless because it begins with the word *jarāyujas*. This does not imply that the scope of the hymn was mistaken ; the contrary is shown by the fact that its successor is undeniably a hymn to lightning ; but the occurrence of *jarāyu* offered as good a point of connection (in the absence of an alphabetical order—an idea which the Hindus never hit upon) as any other ; and they did not mind the incongruence between the literal meaning 'placenta' in the one hymn and the figurative 'cloud-womb' in the other. But it is partly the recurrence of this word that has misled the European translators.

The native treatment of the hymn exhibits considerable divergence, owing to its double character : it is a hymn to lightning ; and, on the other hand, the diseases attributed to lightning present yet more salient

points, which are made prominent in its designation and its ritual application. The Anukramaṇī (i. 1. 7) simply calls it “a hymn to cure consumption (*yakṣma* : cf. the word *kāsa* ‘from cough,’ in the third verse)”; in the *gaṇamālā*, Ath. Pariç. 34. 7, it begins the group of hymns designed to curē *takman*. The Kāuçika employs it twice. Once (38. 1-10) it is used—along with i. 13 and vii. 11, which are palpably hymns addressed to lightning—in an incantation against thunderstorms (‘bad weather,’ *durdina*). Thus, 1 : *jarāyujā iti durdinam āyan pratyuttiṣṭhati* (Dārila : *durdinam meghānām vināçahetuḥ : tadvināçāyā* “*gachan sūktam japan*); 2. *anvṛcam udavajrāiḥ*; 3. *asy-ultmuka-kīṣkurūn* (Dār., *kīṁkuravaḥ mukhiko kṣīraḥ*) *ādāya*; 4. *nagno lalāṭam unmrjānaḥ*; 5. *utsāḍya bāhyato ’ngārakapāle çigruçarkarā juhoti* (Dār., *çigrupatrāṇi çarkarā vā*); 6. *kerārkhāv ādadhāti* (Dār., *kerāparṇi ’ti yā surāṣṭre puṇḍarīke ’ti* [? MS. *puvari*]); 7. *varṣaparītaḥ pratilomakarṣitas triḥ parikramya khadāyām arkam kṣipram saṁvapati* (Dār., *evam pūrvatra arkam kṣipram saṁvapati : varṣeṇā ’tipiḍito varṣaparītaḥ . . . : gartaḥ svabhāvajaḥ triḥ sarvatra gatvā khadāyām arkasamutajālam (?) prakṛtena sūktena piṇḍīkṛtaḥ kṣipati çighram*).

The hymn is again used in Kāuç. 26. 1-10, in a ceremony which is described by Dārila as *çirorogabhāiçajyam*, and in every respect fits the definition; it corresponds to verse 3a of the hymn. As it contributes nothing to the understanding of the hymn itself, this reference may suffice.

III. Atharva-Veda i. 14. This hymn has been translated by Weber (ib., p. 408), Zimmer (ib., p. 314), and Ludwig (ib., p. 459). All agree in regarding it as a marriage-hymn; and Zimmer even describes it as spoken at the end of the marriage ceremony. It will be sufficient to present the first two (closely similar) versions in an English paraphrase :

1. “The joy of love and glory do I take from her to myself, as a wreath from a tree; like a mountain with broad foundation may she dwell a long time with [my] parents.”

This is supposed to come from the mouth of the groom, in the presence of the bride’s relatives, who thereupon reply :

2. “This maiden here, O ruler, shall be surrendered to thee as thy wife; let her be bound in the house of [thy] mother, of [thy] brother, and of [thy] father. .

3. “She shall be the head of thy family; to thee we surrender her now; long may she live with thy parents, until her head turns gray (?)” (so Z.; “streaming blessings from head to foot” W.).

Then the young husband replies :

4. “With the prayer of Asita, Kaçyapa, and Gaya do I tie thy fortune to myself, as the sisters tie the trunk.”

Zimmer adds : “The sisters here referred to can only be those of the newly-married girl.” The trunk, he thinks, contains the dowry; and he adds further : “The prospect of a rich dowry helped many a maiden who would otherwise have remained a spinster to obtain a husband.”

Ludwig translates in a manner essentially the same, though with considerable variation in detail, and with more reserve in supplying pronouns and determining speakers.

Against this general understanding of the hymn stands the pregnant fact that it is not referred to in the tenth book of the Kāuṣika, where five chapters are devoted to the marriage-ritual. It is, however, rubricated in the second half of the tenth book, consisting of three chapters and a half (33-36), and entitled by the commentator *stri-karmāṇi* 'women's rites;' and the scruple suggested by its absence from the tenth book might admit of being removed. But the Kāuṣika offers also evidence of a positive character. The hymn is employed in a ritual evidently of a sinister character, quite unsuited to the joyous occasion with which the imagination of the translators has connected it. Thus : Kāuṣ. 36. 15 *bhagam asyā varca iti mālā-niṣpramanda-* (Dār. *kṛidā-yavargājendukah*)-*dantadhāvana-kecam iṣṇahatāyā* (D. *jvarahatāyāḥ*) *anustaranyā vā koṣam ulūkhaladaraṇe triṣṭile nikhanati*, 'with the hymn i. 14 one buries a (her?) wreath, *niṣpramanda*, teeth-cleaner, and hair, the *koṣa* (*vulva* ?) of, a cow slain by Rudra or of a burial-cow, in the hole of a mortar containing three stones;' 16. *mālām upamathyā 'nvāha* (D. *vimathya* ? MS. *vimahyam*), 'one repeats [the hymn] stirring up the wreath;' 17. *trīṇi kecamanḍalāni* (D. *puṇjakeṣān*) *kṛṣṇasū-treṇa viṣṭhṛya* (D. *baddhvā*) *triṣṭile* (D. *niḥanti*) *'ṣmottarāṇi*, 'tying separately three tufts of [her] hair, [he buries them] in the hole containing the three stones, above [each] stone;' 18. *athā 'syāi bhagam utkhanati* :

*yaṁ te bhagam nicakhnus triṣṭile yaṁ catuṣṭile :*  
*idaṁ tam utkhanāmasi prajāyā ca dhanena ca,*

'then one digs up her *bhaga* (fortune? *vulva* ?) [with the verse] "what *bhaga* of thine they buried, in a place containing three stones or four stones, that we now dig up again, together with offspring and wealth."'

The commentary is very corrupt in this passage, and many points in the ceremony are not clear; but its character is plainly sinister. I explain the hymn as a woman's incantation against a rival, and translate :

1. 'I have taken to myself her fortune (*bhaga*) and glory, as [one takes] a wreath from a tree; as a mountain with broad foundation, may she sit long with her relatives (? *pitṛṣu*).

2. 'Let this girl be subjected to thee as thy wife, O king Yama; [till then] let her be fixed to the house of [her] mother and brother and father.

3. 'O king [Yama], this [girl shall be] thy housekeeper; to thee do we give her over; [till that] may she long sit with her relatives (? *pitṛṣu*), until her hair is scattered from her head (?).

4. 'With the incantation of Asita and Kaçyapa and Gaya do I bind up thy fortune, as sisters [pack something] within a casket (*koṣa*).'

The surroundings of this ceremony in the Kāuṣika are equally conclusive as to its character, as viewed by the authors of that treatise. It is preceded (36. 13, 14) by one that founds itself on AV. vi. 130, and is regarded by all the translators as a charm to rekindle the love of a truant husband; and it is followed (36. 19-24) by one attaching itself to iii. 18, and explained with equal unanimity as a woman's charm for supplanting a more favored rival.

I add the curious statement of the *Anukramaṇī* as to this hymn : *namas te astu* (i. 13) *bhagam asyā* (i. 14) *iti sūkte vāidyute dve ānuṣṭubhe prathamam vāidyutam param vārunam vo'ta yāmyam vā prathamena vidyutam astāud dvitīyena tadartham yamam*. There seems to be no reason for associating these hymns, nor for regarding i. 14 as having anything to do with lightning. It may be noted that the treatise regards the word *yama* in the hymn as a proper name, and not an epithet ("ruler" [*Bändiger, Herrscher*] of the translators).

The concluding word of verse 3, *ṣamopyāt*, rendered by Zimmer 'until (her hair) turn gray,' on authority of a conjecture of the Petersburg lexicon, is in reality unexplainable. The quarter-verse, *ā cīrṣṇāḥ ṣamōpyāt*, is, indeed, easily filled out by reading it as *ā cīrṣṇāḥ ṣamōpiāt*; but the "hair" and the "three tufts of hair" of the *Kāuṣika* suggest to me the emendation *ā cīrṣṇāḥ kēcam ōpyāt* 'till she has shed the hair from her head'—i. e. 'has grown bald.' Or is the word to be emended to *samōpiāt* ( *√vap + ā + sam*) ?

16. Lexicographical notes from the *Mahābhārata*; by Prof. Hopkins.

Professor Hopkins had collected various new meanings of words already treated in the Petersburg Lexicon, and gave sundry new compound words from the *Bhārata*, not registered in the Lexicon. He drew attention to the different numberings of the different Bombay editions. The old numbers are retained in the new smaller dictionary, which makes some difficulty in finding the citations from the twelfth book.

17. Introduction to the study of the Old-Indian Sibilants; by Prof. Bloomfield and Dr. Edward H. Spieker, of Baltimore, Md.

The problems which are encountered in an investigation of the Old-Indian sibilants may be best foreshadowed by the following preliminary statistical statements in reference to the Petersburg lexicon. In it we have found quoted 16 words which occur written in various texts with all three sibilants of the Sanskrit alphabet. So e. g. *kṛsara* (so the lexicon!) 'cake of rice and sesame' is usually written in the MSS. as *kṛṣara*, and occurs also as *kṛṣara*; *musala* 'pestle' as *muṣala* and *muṣala*; *bisa* 'lotus-shoot' as *viṣa* and *viṣa*. There are 45 cases (not counting the same word twice in composition, nor the cases in which all three sibilants occur) in which *ṣ* and *ś* exchange with one another: e. g. *dṛṣād* and *dṛṣad* (rare) 'millstone,' *prṣṇi* and *prṣṇi* 'speckled.' Then there are 38 words in which *ṣ* alternates with *s*: e. g. *abhilāṣa* and *abhilāsa* 'desire,' *kaṣa*, *nikāṣa*, and *kasa*, *nikasa* 'touchstone.' There are moreover 68 cases of variation between *ṣ* and *s* in composition, when the second member of the compound begins with *s* and is preceded by an 'alterant' vowel: e. g. *go-ṣaṇi* and *go-saṇi* 'obtaining cattle'; *ati-ṣāra* and *ati-sāra* 'diarrhoea'; *vi-sphuliṅga* and *vi-sphuliṅga* 'spark.' Finally, there are about 250 cases in which *ṣ* varies with *s*: e. g. *aṇsa* and *aṇṣa* 'shoulder'; *aṣru* and *asru* 'tear'; *kṛkalāṣa* and *kṛkalāsa* 'lizard'; *pāṇsu* and *pāṇṣu* 'dust'; *saṁsṛuta* and *saṁṣṛuta* 'flowed together'; *keṣa* and *kesa* 'hair.'

These statements are hemmed in moreover by certain limitations. It was impossible even for a work of the extent of the Petersburg lexicon to accommodate within its framework systematic statements as to the vacillations of the MSS. ; yet these alone can furnish an adequate picture of the excessive unsettledness in the use of the sibilants throughout the Vedic and classical Sanskrit. The lexicon bases its statements in general upon printed editions, and is in most cases shut off from an independent view of the materials which the editor uses. The editor alone has to grapple with the many problems of orthography ; these he solves and presents to the lexicon with varying degrees of correctness and exactness, according to his lights, and according to the extent to which they arouse his interest. Therefore the study of the sibilants, or any other problem in consonant phonetics, in order to be complete, ought to be founded upon an investigation of the MSS. ; at least, such critical material as is published along with the text-editions ought to furnish the ground upon which the investigation is to be founded ; and the only excuse for not referring the matter back entirely to the MSS. is their inaccessibility and the enormous difficulty of the task.

The bearings of the MSS. upon an investigation of the sibilants may be illustrated by the following examples : AV. ix. 1. 14, and xvi. 9. 4, the MSS. and the edition of Roth and Whitney read *vañçiṣiṣya* ; vii. 8. 51, *pyāçiṣimahi* ; these are recognized by Whitney, Index Verborum under roots *van* and *pyā* (cf. also American Journal of Philology, vi. 277 fg.), as precatives or *siṣ*-aorist optatives, *vañsiṣiṣya* and *pyāsiṣimahi* ; Kāuṣ. 3. 8 the MSS. read *āçiṣpate*, which is probably to be emended to *āsiṣyate* 'he will sit,' in a formula in the following passage : *āsanīyam brahma-japaṁ japatī bṛhaspatir brahmā brahmasadana āsiṣyate* (MSS. *āçiṣpate*) *bṛhaspate yajñāṁ gopāya* etc. ; Māitr. S. iii. 1. 9 (end), the MSS. read *çañṣyati* for *sañ-çyati* ; Kāuṣ. 85. 19, two of seven MSS. read *pāçi-çikatā* for *pāçi-sikatā* 'stones and pebbles' ; Kāuṣ. 88. 13, K. (the best MS.) reads *āçañçūnām* for *āçañsūnām* gen. plur. of *āçañsu* 'desirous' ; Gop. i. 2. 9, the edition reads *çavasa-uçīnareṣu* for *savaça-uçīnareṣu* : cf. Ait. Br. 8. 14.

All these cases are in words containing more than one sibilant ; the deviations are due to a well-known tendency towards assimilation, which the sibilants exercise upon one another. There are a considerable number of words in the language in which a sibilant etymologically false has firmly fixed itself, and has been always correctly explained as due to such processes. The most certain cases are, first, root *çuṣ* 'dry,' *çuṣka* 'dry' (for \**suṣka* ; cf. Zd. *huška*), and root *çuṣ* (*çvas*) 'blow' ; then *çvāçura*, *çvaçrū* and *çmāçru*, *çaçvat* (for *sa-çvat* ; see Benfey, *Wurzellexikon* ii. 167 ; *Orient und Occident* i. 573 ; "Das indo-germanische Thema des Zahlworts 'zwei' ist *du*," *Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss.* xxi. 7). In all of these a lingual or a palatal sibilant has attracted to itself a dental sibilant in the preceding syllable : cf. in general Osthoff, *Zur Geschichte des Perfects im I.-G.*, p. 494. In no way different in principle are the cases of *vañçiṣiṣya*, *pyāçiṣimahi* and *āçiṣpate* above. The case of *çaçā* 'hare,' in which the original palatal sibilant in the first syllable of the word has attracted to itself a dental of the following syllable, is in no way different from the MS. readings *pāçi-çikatā* and *āçañçūnām* above.

It is evident that the conditions under which, and the extent to which, these assimilations may be assumed to have taken place in words containing more than one sibilant will receive valuable help from such MS. readings. In these, such influences are exhibited not in a definitely concluded form, but in the form of a tendency; not in a few effects which allow us to guess at their cause with more or less certainty, but at a stage of the process in which the effect is seen as it were following closely upon the heels of the cause.

The value of collections of this kind is a twofold one. First, they are directly useful in the editing of texts; we learn from them that palatal and lingual sibilants exercise a strong attractive influence upon dentals in syllables immediately preceding or following, and we are thus led to emend with greater confidence in cases where the sense of a passage is improved by the restoration of the dental, as in the case of *āsiṣyate* from *āciṣpate* above. Secondly, we believe that such persistent writings are destined to play an important part in the discussions on the infallibility of phonetic law, which seem at present to enter upon a new phase, at least as far as non-spontaneous changes are concerned. The AV. contains other *siṣ*-aorist forms in addition to *vañciṣiṣya* and *pyāciṣimahi* in which the assimilation of the dental to the lingual is omitted under precisely the same conditions: *hāsiṣṭam*, *hāsiṣṭām*, *hāsiṣṭa*, *hāsiṣus* (see Whitney, Index Verborum to Atharva-Veda, p. 337). And nowhere else in the *siṣ*-aorist (Whitney, Am. Journ. of Phil., vi. 276 fg.) does the assimilation take place. Certainly Osthoff's first suggestion of a cause of the absence of the assimilation in the *siṣ*-aorist, which he regards as necessary in the light of *ṣuṣka* etc. (ibid. 499), becomes improbable on account of *vañciṣiṣya* and *pyāciṣimahi*. In general those interested in the discussions respecting phonetic law cannot devote too much attention to the tentative exhibitions of their operation in the MSS.: i. e. to the manner in which a phonetic law affects the individual in the linguistic community.

Not very different in principle are MS. readings like *ādhaṣana-ṣayin* for *adhāsana-ṣayin* 'occupying a low couch, Āp. Dh. S. i. 1. 2. 21; *kṛṣa-nāca* for *kṛṣa-nāsa*, MBh. 12. 10365. Here the assimilating influence of *ṣ* seems to operate across a syllable not containing a mute (*nā*); that this mode of writing expresses a genuine phonetic influence seems to us no less certain than in the preceding cases, although we have at hand no case in the language in which such phonetic influence has succeeded in transforming a word conclusively, as in *ṣvāṣura* and *ṣaṣd*.

The Petersburg Lexicon explains the first member of the Vedic copulative compound *ṣunā-sīrāu* 'the plough and the share' (RV., AV., Çāṅkh. Çr., etc.) as equivalent to *ivm*, *ivis* 'plough-share.' If this plausible etymology be correct, then *ṣunā-sīrāu* stands for *sunā-sīrāu* (a mode of writing which is mentioned by the commentaries to the lexicographers\*), and we have here a case of the dissimilation of two succeeding dentals (again across the syllable *nā*, as in the cases immediately pre-

\* The same commentaries have also *ṣunācīrāu*, a mode of writing which in turn represents assimilation, if any value be attached to it at all: cf. *kṛṣanāca*.

ceding). This etymology, and this assumption of dissimilating influences exercised by sibilants upon one another, can also be fortified by MSS. readings. Thus, Kāuṣ. 24. 13 etc., the MSS. read *suçīme* in a formula *sollennis* addressed to a woman, married or about to be married: *sumangalī prajāvati suçīme*: *suçīme* must be emended to *su-sīme* 'having a beautiful hair-parting.' At AV. iv. 16. 7, the MSS. read *çrañçayitvā* for *srañsayitvā*, where we must assume first dissimilation and then again assimilation (*çrañsayitvā*; then *çrañçayitvā*). Cf. also *sañçrutam* and *sañçrāvayati* below.

And there are other readings which illustrate the constant tendency of sibilants in the same word to influence one another. AV. vii. 5. 2, the MSS. read *susañcinas* for *suçañsinas*; Kāuṣ. 50. 8, all MSS. have the unintelligible *avasasya*, which yields sense if emended to *avaçasya* 'having called down a curse (upon his enemies);' Kāuṣ. 48. 41, two MSS. read *asiçiṣu* for *açiṣu* 'desirous of eating.'

We may turn now to a case or two which illustrate the bearing of the MSS. upon words containing but one sibilant. We have mentioned above the fact that the root *sru* 'flow' occurs in the form *çru*. So the Petersburg Lexicon posits by the side of root 1. *çru* 'to hear' a root 2. *çru* 'to flow'; it brings four cases from the RV. and one from the AV. (i. 3. 6) in illustration; the case from the AV. is a certain one beyond all peradventure: *yad āntreṣu gavīṇyor yad vastāv adhi sañçrutam* 'what has flowed together in the bowels, in the groins, and in the bladder.' The lexicon furthermore has *çravas*=*ῥέος* for even a larger number of cases; then there occurs the variant *āçrava* for *āsrava* 'stream;' Kāuṣ. 6. 9, we have *sañçrāvayati* as var. lect. of *sañsrāvayati*. The text-editions preserve the readings with *ç*; and as investigators of the sibilants we might have been misled into an attempt at a phonetic explanation, but for a case precisely opposite. AV. vii. 66. 1, the MSS. read and the editors have retained *asravan* for *açravan* 'they heard,' just as they have *sañçrutam* for *sañsrutam* above: *yad asravan paçava udyamānaḥ tad brāhmaṇam punar asmān upāitu*.\* Evidently we ought to emend in future editions according to the sense, and recognize that we are entitled to employ this experience wherever a change seems necessary. The gain for grammar, though negative, is valuable enough, for we have established definitely a case of absolute confusion of these sounds in the earliest documents.

Once more, extended study of the MSS. will alone lead to a true estimate even of the most persistent modes of writing, when these are in conflict with other serious considerations. We will illustrate this only by a case or two. At Kāuṣ. 4. 15, the MSS. unanimously read *vaçiyān* for *vasīyān*: *sa vaçiyān yaçamāno bhavati* (in antithesis to *pāpīyān* in the preceding sūtra); AV. xviii. 4. 49, all MSS. read *vaçiyas* for *vasīyas* (Whitney, Index Verb. *sub voce*), and the same false writing occurs elsewhere. Kāuṣ. 8. 10, all MSS. read *viçaye* for *viçaye* in a sūtra of such terseness and obscurity (*viçaye yathāntharam*) that the

\* Cf. also *prasravaṇa*, which according to the Petersburg Lexicon is often written *praçravaṇa*.



editor would certainly have accepted the reading of the MSS. but for Dārila's explicit gloss of the word by *saṁdeha* and *saṁçaya*. Fortified by these and many similar observations, we venture to go a step beyond the Petersburg Lexicon in our treatment of the word *keçara-kesara* 'hair, mane.' There is authority for both readings; the earliest texts, AV. (the word does not occur in the RV.), VS., Çat. Br., etc., write *kesara*, and the etymology (Lat. *cæsaries*) points at first sight to dental *s* not lingualized on account of the *r* following. On the other hand, the MSS. of the classical texts (e. g. Pañcatantra, Rtasamhāra, etc.) write *keçara*; and *keça* 'hair,' *keçava* 'hairy,' *keçin* 'long-haired, are written with ç everywhere. The Petersburg Lexicon arrives at no decision, but heads its article with both writings, giving precedence to the one with *s*. Yet both cannot be correct, and we see reason for deciding in favor of *keçara*. The considerations adduced against that reading resolve themselves into nothing more than the readings of the earlier MSS.; and that alone does not impress us sufficiently, because we have found the MSS. fallible in their treatment of sibilants. So far as the etymology is concerned, we believe that the writing *keçara* favors it as well as *kesara*. We assume that the *k* of the first syllable has assimilated the dental sibilant to a palatal, precisely as *çaça* for \**çasá*. A completer proof of this assumption may be reserved for a future paper. At present we would point to such cases as *keça* etc., *koça* (Gothic *hūs*), *çákrt* (σκόρ), possibly *çakrá* (*sacer*), and such writing as *kṛçara* (more common than *kṛsara* and *kṛṣara*);\* the close similarity in pronunciation of *k* and ç is proved by cases like *çarkoṭa* 'a kind of serpent' and *karkoṭaka* 'name of a certain serpent,' *lopāçá* and *lopāka* etc. (cf. KZ. xxv. 125), and favors the assumption that *k* may have exercised the same effect upon a neighboring *s* as ç. In this way *keçara* is placed upon the same level as *keça* etc., and the earlier writing (*kesara*) may be either simply a case of confusion of ç and *s* (of which there are about 250 instances), or perhaps brought about by an analogical imitation of the influence which is always exercised by an *r* following anywhere in a word upon a dental sibilant, which would but for the *r* be lingualized by an alterant vowel preceding it, as e. g. in *dhūsara* from root *dhvas*. The order of development would then be: Indo-European *kaisara*, Indian *keçara*, and finally *kesara*.

The statements just made implicitly contain a programme of the work before us. It consists 1. in fixing the correct orthography of a given word containing one or more sibilants in a given period; 2. in describing and accounting for the variations by which the correct writing is beset; 3. if possible, in fixing the pronunciation of the sibilants at any given period of Indian literature.

The last of these tasks presents well-nigh insuperable difficulties, so far as the lingual and palatal sibilants are concerned. The vernaculars have leveled the difference in the pronunciation of these sounds, even where, as in the case in the Gipsy languages, they have preserved the difference between the dental sibilant on the one hand and the palatal

\* Cf. also *çūkara* for *sūkara* (Petersburg Lexicon *sub voce*), and *çukanāçū* for *çukanāsū*.

and lingual on the other. Etymological considerations are of course nearly useless in delicate questions of pronunciation.

Our aids in this task in general are threefold. 1. On the hither side we have the history and development of the sibilants in the modern languages of India, beginning with the Pāli-Prākṛit dialect, and continuing with the vernaculars. Our task here is a comparatively simple one, because in general all these dialects present the sibilants in a stage of advanced decay. The sibilants in earliest Pāli-Prākṛit times have been merged into the one dental sibilant; and whatever differences have cropped out in the modern vernaculars are new and of no etymological value. There are two exceptions to this state of things. The Buddhistic inscriptions of king Aśoka or Piadasi follow in general the literary Pāli in the fusion of the sibilants, except those of the Kapur-da-Giri version. These have preserved the sibilants intact as in Sanskrit, aside from specialties of treatment (e. g.  $\zeta=gy$ ). Unfortunately, the material of these inscriptions is very small, and, though it tends to strengthen our confidence in the general correctness of the readings of Vedic and Sanskrit MSS. and editions, it contributes but very little in cases of doubtful orthography.

Somewhat more important is a second document, the language of the Gipsies. Here the palatal and lingual sibilants have become fused into a lingual  $\zeta$ , but the dental  $s$  has kept itself perfectly clear as a dental. So  $\text{śukko}=\text{çuška}$ ;  $\text{śosoi}=\text{çaçá}$ ;  $\text{deṣ}=\text{daça}$  etc., but  $\text{as-av}=\text{has-āmi}$ ;  $\text{khas}=\text{hasta}$ . But here, as in the case of the Kapur-da-Giri inscriptions, but little aid can be found in cases of special difficulty; the testimony of both will make for conservative criticism from the point of view of inner Indian tradition against testimony from without.

2. On the farther side of the Vedic language lies the testimony to which we must turn for most of our information, the related languages. This is *eo ipso* the foundation of such an investigation; it is hardly necessary to point out how instinctively the representatives in the related tongues of words containing sibilants are searched out as the starting point from which all facts in the later development of the sibilants are to be traced and described.

3. We trust to a closer scrutiny of the sibilant within the private life of the Vedic and classical dialects for most of the information which we hope to contribute to this subject. Here is the point where least has been done, and here we must search for a solution of the difficulties and inconsistencies which are left after the contributions from without have been exhausted. We have exemplified pretty clearly the nature of the help which is to be derived from within by our remarks on the use of the MSS. Numerous other conflicts between etymology and native tradition will undoubtedly be solved in this way, if they are solved at all.

After the usual vote of thanks to the American Academy for the use of its assembly-room, the Society adjourned to meet at New Haven, Wednesday, October 27, 1886.